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Telephone	:	(+91-265) 2425121
E-mail	:	director-oriental@msubaroda.ac.in
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NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA AND BHĀSA

Radhavallabh Tripathi*

Nāṭyaśāstra (NS) of Bharatamuni is one of the most voluminous and comprehensive texts on the art of theatre, drama and dramaturgy compiled around the 2nd century BC. There is hardly any author in the galaxy of classical Sanskrit playwrights who has not been influenced in some way or other by overpowering impact of this *magnum opus* ; mostly the playwrights in Sanskrit eagerly confirm to the *dicta* of the NS. Bhāsa, however, is an exception.

Bhāsa stands as the foremost amongst the classical playwrights in our literary tradition. He was revered as a great dramatist even in the days of Kālidāsa. Not only because of his antiquity, but also because of his unparallel achievements in the conception of dramatic theme, his perception of human nature and command of theatric idiom as well as his vision and understanding of life, Bhāsa must be ranked as one of the greatest dramatists of world-literature. It is presumed that being anterior Bhāsa does not exhibit the influence of the tradition of NS. The design of so-called Bhāsa-plays violates Bharata's maxims, or at least his plays do not present a simple study in terms of his *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NS). They present difficulties when we try to evaluate them on the basis of norms or principles of

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* 21, Landmark City, Near Hoshangabad Road, Bhopal (M.P.)-462043,
Ph. No: 0755-400; Email. : radhavallabh2002@gmail.com

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dramaturgy as spelt out by Bharata, viz :

(1) **Presentation of death scenes:** Vālin (in *Abhiṣeka*), Duryodhana (in *Ūrubhaṅga*) and Daśaratha (in *Pratimā*) succumb to death on the stage itself. NS prohibits depiction of a death scene in a *Nāṭaka* and the death of a noble hero should never be shown according to it.[1] Murder is also prohibited. Vālin is actually murdered and Rāma is shown as shooting the arrow on him.

(2) Again NS does not allow violent scenes of fight, wrestling or murder in a *Nāṭaka*. *Bālacarita*, a *Nāṭaka* type of play attributed to Bhāsa, abounds in such scenes. Similarly in *Madhyamavyāyoga* a vigorous fight between Bhīma and Ghaṭotkaca occurs.

(3) Bhāsa has represented sleep on the stage in *Daridracārudattam* and in *Svapnavāsavadattam*. The later, a *nāṭaka* type of drama is taken as a genuine play of Bhāsa beyond any shred of doubt, even though it might have been

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1. युद्धं राज्यभ्रंशो मरणं नगरोपरोधनं चैव ।
प्रत्यक्षाणि तु नाङ्के प्रवेशकैः संविधेयानि ।
अङ्के प्रवेशके च प्रकरणमाश्रित्य नाटके वापि ।
न वधः कर्तव्यः स्याद्योऽभ्युदयी नायकः ख्यातः ॥ (NS Vol. 3, GOS No. 124, Oriental Institute, Vadodara, XVIII. 38.39)

नाम्बरग्रहणं रङ्गे न स्नानं न विलेपनम् ।
नाञ्जनं नाङ्गरागश्च केशसंयमनं तथा ॥
नाप्रावृता नैकवस्त्रा व रागमधरस्य तु ।
उत्तमा मध्यमा वापि कुर्वीत प्रमदा क्वचित् ॥
अधमानां भवेदेष सर्व एव विधिः सदा ।
कारणान्तरमासाद्य तस्मादपि न कारयेत् ॥ (NS XXII.240-42)

न कार्यं शयनं रङ्गे नाट्यधर्मं विजानता ।
केनचिद् वचनार्थेन अङ्गच्छेदो विधीयते ।
यद्वा शयीतार्थवशादेकाकी सहितोऽपि वा ।
चुम्बनालिङ्गनं चैव यद् वा गुह्यं च यद् भवेत् ॥
दन्तच्छेद्यं नखच्छेद्यं नीवीस्रंसनमेव च ।
स्तनान्तरविमर्दं च रङ्गमध्ये न कारयेत ॥
भोजनं सलिलक्रीडा तथा लज्जाकरं च यत् ।
एवंविधं भवेद्यत्तत्तद्रङ्गे न कारयेत् ॥
पितापुत्रसुषाश्वश्रूदृश्यं यस्मात् तु नाटकम् ।
तस्मादेतानि सर्वाणि वर्जनीयानि तत्त्वतः ॥ (NS XXII.295-99)

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tempered or edited at some places by the *Cākyārs*. The dream of the hero (Udayana) forming a very touching scene is irrevocably linked with the very title of the play, on which Bhāsa's reputation stands.

NS lays down that the actors should not enact sleep on the stage. Is Bhāsa challenging the NS-tradition or he is violating the same owing to his unawareness about it? T. Ganapati Shastri holds Bhāsa's un-acquaintance with Bharata's NS as the reason for these transgressions. He says - 'I find that Bhasa disregards altogether the rules of dramaturgy laid down in that work...Bhāsa perhaps belonged to one of the older schools of dramaturgy and therefore he was not aware of the rules laid down in the Natyashastra'[2]

4. Again, the rulings of NS[3] with regard to the arrangements of seats (*Āsanas*) for different types of characters has been disregarded in *Dūtavākyam*, where Duryodhana offers seats to his elders entering the royal court. *Kūrmāsana* and *carmāsana* do not find a mention in the prescriptions of NS.[4]

5. NS gives a ruling for the mention of the name of the dramatist in the prologue of the play, none of the so-called Bhāsa - plays contain the name of the dramatist in their prologues.

6. The hero of *Nāṭaka* type of drama should fall under the category of *Dhīrodātta*. The hero of *Svapnavāsavadattam* does not conform to the characteristics of a *Dhīrodātta*. He is more of a *Dhīralalita* type.

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2. *Bhāsa's Plays* - T. Ganapati Shastri (with Intro. by N.P.Unni), Bhartiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi, 1985, p. 80

3. देवानां नृपतीनां च दद्यात्सिंहासनं द्विजः ।
पुरोधसाममात्यानां भवेद्धैत्रासनं तथा ॥
मुण्डासनं च दातव्यं सेनानीयुवराजयोः ।
काष्ठासनं द्विजातीनां कुमाराणां कुथासनम् ॥
एवं राजसभां प्राप्य कार्यस्त्वासनजो विधिः । NS.XII.215-17

4. आचार्य एतत् कूर्मासनम्, आस्यताम् । पितामह ! एतत् सिंहासनम्, आस्यताम् । मातुल ! एतच्चर्मासनम्, आस्यताम् । (*Dūtavākyam*)

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7. The use of the word *cekrīḍita* in *Avimāraka*[5] reminds us that Bharata disallows such uncommon usages. The remarks in NS IXX. 153 with regard to the use of such rare forms seem to criticize the passage of *Avimāraka* :

चेक्रीडिताद्यैः शब्दैस्तु काव्यबन्धा भवन्ति ये ।
वेश्या इव न ते भान्ति कमण्डलुधरैर्द्विजैः ॥

It is only by just a chance that Bhāsa has used the work *cekrīḍita* and NS has criticized, rather in a way of mockery, the very use of the word *cekrīḍita* itself? Is it possible that the above line has been inserted in the text of NS just to comment on the language of Bhāsa, or alternately, Bhāsa, if he is aware of the *dicta* of NS, he is deliberately violating them?

In fact, it is not merely a question of violating a few rules prescribed in NS, Bhāsa is unique in his thematic design as well as the approach to dramatic canons. He displays certain peculiar features that are uncommon in the long tradition of Sanskrit drama. *Svapnavāsavadattam* is decisively upheld as one of the greatest classical Sanskrit plays and is supposed to be a *nāṭaka* type of drama in our tradition; and has been cited as a *nāṭaka* by a number of rhetoricians. But it does not confirm to the definitions of a *nāṭaka* in totality. Instead of one, there are two heroines, and curiously enough, the hero goes on loving the senior heroine (*jyeṣṭhā nāyikā*) with a innermost feelings of his heart, maintaining just a sort of a formal relationship with his new bride - even though the later is more beautiful, younger and more attractive. This is a very strange situation - the younger one commands only respect owing to her qualities, while the senior heroine, who is supposed to be dead, reigns the world of his heart.

This expression from the hero of Bhāsa's play is extra-ordinary in the sense that it brings out a human relationship which is unique in Sanskrit drama. The other plays dealing with the theme of the triangle of love present a situation which is just the reverse. There the hero is running after the younger heroine and

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5. अहं द्विनेत्रो न सहस्रनेत्रो
मतिश्च मूढा सुचिराभिलाषात् ।
कामार्णवस्याद्य तु दृष्टपारं
चेक्रीड्यतां मे सुखमक्षिदुग्मम् ॥ *Avimārakam* III.18

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is desperately trying to maintain the semblance of his relations with the senior heroine which are almost heading towards a dead end. Even in the later plays dealing with Udayana-theme, the image of the hero together with his relationship with the two *nāyikās* has been reversed, with perhaps the single exception of *Tāpasavatsarāja* by Anaṅgaharṣa Māyurāja which is a recast of *Svapnavāsavadattam* itself.

Considering the forms of drama also, Bhāsa displays certain peculiar features. Amongst the ten major forms of drama, Bhāsa stands alone in exploring the rare types which were taken up only exceptionally by his successors. If the plays dealing with *Mahābhārata*- theme in the *Bhāsanāṭakacakra* are independent compositions of the great dramatist, then they can be presumed to be furnishing the earliest specimen of the types of drama which later on became extinct in our tradition.

Of the *Mahābhārata* plays by Bhāsa, *Madhyamavyāyoga* is of *Vyāyoga* type, *Pañcarātra* of *Samavakāra* type and *Karṇabhāra* and *Ūrubhaṅga* come under the category of *Utsṛṣṭikāṅka* type. But none of them exactly stands in conformity to Bharata's definitions of these types. The *Samavakāra* type of play is structured on triplets. It should have three acts, three *Kapaṭas* (deceptions), three *Vidravas* (flights) and three types of *Śṛṅgāra Rasa*. The three types of flight in *Samavakāra* are caused by war, flood, typhoon, fire, elephant running amuck and siege of the city. The three kinds of deception create both pleasure as well as pain in this play. They are in the following situations - (i) an innocent person is deceived by other, (ii) the fate connives against him, (iii) the deception is done in retaliation. The three types of *Śṛṅgāra Rasa* are formed on the basis of the pursuits of goals of life - *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*. The plot in *Samavakāra* should be related to gods and demons. It has twelve heroes. There are tense moments of altercation and agitation. *Pañcarātra* thus does not follow the complete description of *Samavakāra*. It has three acts. It also evinces the use of various types of deceptions. But the neither the number of its heroes is exactly twelve, nor does it have gods and demons as characters. Neither we can call *Pañcarātra* an *Īhāmṛga* as well. An *Īhāmṛga* is a well knit composition. The heroes should be celestial beings. The fight on account of celestial damsels is depicted in it with sufficient scope for misbelieve. The characters are mostly vehement and the plot centers around

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the anger of women marked with *saṁkṣobha* (agitation), *vidrava* (flight) and *sampheṭa* (encounter). There is kidnapping and ravaging of women in it. However, *Śṛṅgāra* remains the dominant *Rasa*. In *Pañcarātra*, there is hardly any scope for *Śṛṅgārarasa* as such.

The *Utsṛṣṭikāṅka* type of play opens in a post-war situation. The heroes have turned back from fights and altercations. The sentiment of Pathos predominates. There are no divine characters. The mortals are shown to be meeting their mortal end. Themes of imprisonment and killing are also taken up. There are lamentations and bewailings by womenfolk and words of despair and disgust by men. This kind of play abounds in *Bhāratī Vṛtti*.

Identification of *Dūtavākya* and *Dūtaghaṭotkaca* under the ten major forms of drama as defined in NS is also not easy. To certain extent, they attest to the characteristics of a *Vyāyoga* type. *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* too creates further complicated problems. Like *Svapna*, this is also definitely a genuine Bhāsa play. But to which category does it belong? Is it a *Prakaraṇa*, a *Nāṭaka* or an *Īhāmṛga*? If the so-called *sthāpanā* of this play is to be taken seriously, then it has been designated as a *Prakaraṇa* by the author himself. Perhaps it is the only play in Sanskrit dramatic tradition where the hero and the heroine do not appear on the stage at all from the beginning till end, and yet they dominate the scene throughout. NS prescribes that the hero of the play should remain present in each act on the stage, and it fails to take note of Bhāsa's unique experiment in making the presence of his protagonists felt and in maintaining a sustained interest in their activity without their physical presence on the stage. If Yaugandharāyaṇa, who consummates the resolution of the play, is taken as its hero, then it can be adjusted as a *Prakaraṇa*, but a *Prakaraṇa* should at the least have five acts and it has only four. *Īhāmṛga* is cited as a play of four acts, and like *Rukmiṇīharaṇa* of Vastarāja, one of surviving examples of the *Īhāmṛga* type of play, the hero here abducts the heroine or she absconds away with the hero. In that respect *Pratijñā* can be termed as a *Īhāmṛga* as well. But then it hardly confirms the other characteristics of an *Īhāmṛga*. But the fact is that the question of fixing any type for it under ten major forms of drama according to the canons of Bharata's dramaturgy remains unsettled.

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T. Ganapati Shastri, known for discovery of Bhāsa and his pioneer work on the plays of the master dramatist, considers these difficulties in locating the genres of Bhāsa's plays.[6]

Bhāsa stands unsurpassed in his use of supernatural elements. In *Bālacarita*, apparitions of three young *cāṇḍāla* virgins are seen by Kaṁsa and they invite him to marry their girls (or daughters)! Kaṁsa emerges here as a tragic hero heading towards his destiny, and this peculiar use of supernatural element reminds us of similar uses in Greek tragedies or Shakesperean plays like *Macbeth* or *Hamlet*. We do not find exactly any parallel to it in Sanskrit drama after Bhāsa, although his successors like Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti have utilized the motifs of supernatural element in a very imaginative way, but their approach is quite different. The use of supernatural element in *Avimāraka* - i.e. invisibility of a character - finds parallel of course in these two great successors of Bhāsa; but it is Bhāsa only who dares to represent arms or armaments in human form on the stage (as in *Dūtavākya*) or the animal demons (as in *Bālacarita*).

Staging the entry of the large number of characters who are invisible for the audience is also a very uncommon experiment that Bhāsa has made in *Dūtavākya*. Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Śakuni and several kings enter the court of Duryodhana, who

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6. ...'the *Pancharatra,* owing to the fact that it consists of nearly a dozen actors and of three acts, each succeeding act being shorter in extant than the one going before, may be reckoned as *Samavakāra,* but the *Rasa* running through it is not Shringara and each of the actors therein delineated does not serve a different purpose, which facts are the essence of *Samavakāra*; the Madhyamavyayoga, Dutavakya, Dutaghatotkacha and Karnabhara can be reckoned amongst Vyayogas on account of their embodying large number of male characters and of being made up of singe act, but the fewness of the female characters which is also required in a Vyayoga is not found in Dutavakya and Karnabhara; the Urubhanga might be considered as an Utsrishrikanka on account of the Karunrasa and on account of the lamentation is not largely portrayed. The Pratijnanataka may be treated as an Ihamriga on account of its consisting of four acts and on account of its depicting the battle as brought about by women, but it has been described in the colophon as Natika...' *Bhasa's Plays,* p. 96

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alone sees them and greets each one of them, and they are supposed to have occupied the seats offered by Duryodhana; they sit dumb and stone-like from the beginning till the end only to watch the portrait of Draupadī being humiliated by Duḥśāsana and to stand helplessly at the entrance of Kṛṣṇa for being rebuked by the angry Duryodhana. This is a very significant technical device used by Bhāsa here, and due to this invisibility of all the characters in Duryodhana's court, the protagonist and the antagonist stand face to face on the stage before the audience. Bhāsa has also created his own model of *ākāśabhāṣita* here. Normally, a character who is supposed to be behind the curtain but is visible for the character on the stage is addressed in the way of an *ākāśabhāṣita* by the latter. Here, on the contrary, several characters are supposed to have made their entry on the stage; Duryodhana sees them and addresses them, only the audience does not see them. In fact, Duryodhana's *ākāśabhāṣita* here is something very different from the technical motif of *ākāśabhāṣita* as defined in NS and other works and as practiced by the later authors.

This would inevitably lead to the conclusion that Bhāsa is completely unfamiliar with the kernel of Bharata's NS. But there are facts which preclude this conclusion as too hasty. Bhāsa's acquaintance with a work called *Nāṭyaśāstra* cannot be ruled out altogether. Out of the store of surprises that Bhāsa has for us, we find a queer sentence in the dialogue of his *Vidūṣaka* in *Avimāraka* :

कस्मादहमवैदिकः? शृणु तावत् । अस्ति रामायणं नाम नाट्यशास्त्रम् । तस्मिन् पञ्च श्लोका असम्पूर्णे संवत्सरे मया पठिताः ।

Vidūṣaka is boasting of his scholarship here before a maid. Terming *Rāmāyaṇa* as a *Nāṭyaśāstra*, he proves his foolishness just to provoke laughter. The absurdity of his remark apart, it is clear that through it the dramatist has given a hint of his knowledge of both *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It is probable that Bāhsa is not suggesting his acquaintance with a particular work called *Nāṭyaśāstra*, he is rather referring to the *śāstra* of *nāṭya* in a general way. It is also possible that by calling *Rāmayaṇa* as a *Nāṭyaśāstra*, although from the mouth a character like *Vidūṣaka*, Bhāsa has hinted upon his acquaintance with the tradition of the performance of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in a dramatic form.

Even if Bhāsa was familiar with a work called *Nāṭyaśāstra*, it could not necessarily be the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata extant now. Possibly, Bhāsa is familiar

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with or is in touch with a different tradition of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which might have been an older tradition. It seems that by the way of suggesting alternate models or prescribing options, NS of Bharata is recording this tradition. Can we understand Bhāsa in the light of these alternate models or options to general norms?

Bharata has given a strict ruling against representing sleep or dream in a *Nāṭaka*, yet he has also appended an amendment therein : (NS XXII. 296)

यद्वा शयीतार्थवशादेकाकी सहितोऽपि वा ।

(Or else, the actor may represent sleep alone or with a companion on the stage, if this serves some specific purpose).

This is exactly what Bhāsa has done in Act V of his *Svapna.* - in the dream-scene. The scene is charged with subtle emotions and bringing out the innermost feelings of heart. Out of a unique creative imagination, the master dramatist has been able to fulfill a specific purpose in the portrayal of the dream-scene. Udayana and Vāsavadattā, yearning to see each other, are brought together incidentally and are made to share the same bed most innocently. Udayana is sleeping and he has a vision of Vāsavadattā in a dream, while Vāsavadattā is actually with him.

It is possibly, therefore, that Bharata has supplemented his rule with the above amendment to justify what Bhāsa had done, to indicate his appreciation of a unique dramatic sequence that the genius of Bhāsa has created in *Svapna.*; or, the authors of NS have simply recorded and accommodated an alternate tradition which Bhāsa has followed?

The tradition of depicting murder, gruesome fights, bloodshed and death has been practiced in *Kathakali* theatre of Kerala, and Bhāsa has been associated with the Kerala theatre for centuries. Is it possible that Bhāsa represents a different tradition of *Nāṭyaśāstra* which ran parallel to Bharata's NS and he made a distinct mark on Kerala theatre?

The author of NS seem to review even their very clear injunctions against representing fight, death and surrounding a city or murder of a rising hero in prescribing the following set of options: (XVIII.40)

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अपसरणमेव कार्यं ग्रहणं वा सन्धिरेव वा योज्यः ।
काव्यश्लेषैर्बहुभिर्यथारसं नाट्यतत्त्वज्ञैः ॥

It should also be remembered that the ruling against the representation of fights is applicable to the acts of *Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa* or *Nāṭikā* only.

The forms of drama like *Samavakāra, Īhāmṛga* and *Vyāyoga* are said to be abounding in the scenes of vigorous fights, captures or even murders. Even the representation of arms in human form is permissible in NS in its scheme of *āhārya abhinaya* by the way of an alternate model (NS XXI. 165 and XXI.91-92).[7]

NS also discusses the representation of live animals on stage under the treatment of *'Sañjīva'* or *sajīva* in *āhārya abhinaya*. But this treatment is brief. (NS XXI. 162).[8]

No doubt Bhāsa had a fully developed system of theatre before him. He might be knowing a repertoire maintained by the king in his times. In his *Pratimā,* the troupe maintained by King Daśaratha is ordered to present a *'Nāṭaka'* immediately, suitable to the occasion of the coronation ceremony of Rāma. This troupe has a lady in charge of costumes and properties. The general term used for such a lady in the play is *'nepathyapālinī'*; and the general term for the troupe itself has been given as the *'nāṭakīyas'*. Bhāsa seems to be familiar with the conditions and functioning of such troupe.

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7. आयुधानि कार्याणि पुरुषाणां प्रमाणतः ।
तान्यहं वर्तयिष्यामि यथापुस्तप्रमाणतः ॥
देवदानवगन्धर्वयक्षराक्षसपन्नगाः
प्राणिसंज्ञाः स्मृता ह्येते जीवबन्धाश्च येऽपरे ।
[स्त्रीभावाः पर्वताः नद्यः समुद्रा वाहनानि च ॥
नानाशस्त्राण्यपि तथा विज्ञेयाः प्राणिसंज्ञया ।]
शैलप्रसादयन्त्राणि चर्मवर्मध्वजास्तथा ॥
नानाप्रहरणाद्याश्च तेऽप्राणिन इति स्मृताः ।
अथवा कारणोपेता भवन्त्येते शरीरिणः ॥
येते तु युद्धसम्फेटैरुपरोधैस्तथैव च ।
नानाप्रहरणोपेताः प्रयोज्या नाटके बुधैः ॥

8. यः प्राणिनां प्रवेशो वै सजीव इति संज्ञितः ।
चतुष्पदोऽथ द्विपदस्तथा चैवाप्दः स्मृतः ॥

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If Bhāsa was aware of the actual conditions of the theatre of his days, he was also conversant with the theories of drama and theatre - he has imbibed some tradition of theory of drama and theatre - i.e. a *Nāṭyaśāstra*. If this tradition is older and different from the tradition of NS as known to us, NS of Bharata has recorded or recognized this tradition by the way of suggesting alternate models or options to norms.

And yet there is some sort of co-relation between Bhāsa and the text of NS as it is available to us. We can hear the echoes of the *Bharatavākyas* (epilogues) of Bhāsa-plays in the last verse of NS XXXVII.31:

किं चान्यत्सम्प्रपूर्णा भवतु वसुमती नष्टदुर्भिक्षरोगा ।
शान्तिर्गोब्राह्मणानां भवतु नरपतिः पातु पृथ्वीं समग्राम् ॥

The *Bharata-vākyas* in most of the Bhāsa-plays repeat these words.[9] In fact, a line in the specimen of *nāndī* as given in the NS[10] also reproduces the last line of *Bharatavākyas* of some of the plays by Bhāsa almost verbatim.

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9. बलदेवः- गां पातु नो नरपतिः शमितारिपक्षः ॥ 66 ॥ (*Urūbhaṅgaṃ*)
सर्वत्र सम्पदः सन्तु नश्यन्तु विपदः सदा ।
राजा राजगुणोपेतो भूमिमेकः प्रशास्तु नः ॥ (*Karṇabhāraṃ*)
इमां सागरपर्यन्तां हिमवद्विन्ध्यकुण्डलाम् ।
महिमेकातपत्राङ्कां राजसिंहः प्रशास्तु नः ॥56 ॥ (*Dūtavākyaṃ*)
इमामपि महीं कृत्स्न्नां राजसिंहः प्रशास्तु नः ॥26 ॥ (*Pañcarātraṃ*)
यथा रामश्च जानक्या बन्धुभिश्च समागतः ।
तथा लक्ष्म्या समायुक्तो राजा भूमिं प्रशास्तु नः ॥15 ॥ (*Pratimā*)
इमां सागरपर्यन्तां हिमवद्विन्ध्यकुण्डलाम् ।
महिमेकातपत्राङ्कां राजसिंहः प्रशास्तु नः ॥ 20 ॥ (*Bālacaritaṃ*)

10. नमोऽस्तु सर्वदेवेभ्यो द्विजातिभ्यः शुभं तथा ।
जितं सोमेन वै राज्ञा शिवं गोब्राह्मणाय च ॥५.१०५॥
ब्रह्मोत्तरं तथैवास्तु हता ब्रह्मद्विषस्तथा ।
प्रशास्त्विमां महाराजः पृथिवीं च ससागराम् ॥५.१०६॥
राष्ट्रं प्रवर्धतां चैव रङ्गस्याशा समृद्धचत्तु ।
प्रेक्षाकर्तुर्महान् धर्मो भवतु ब्रह्मभाषितः ॥५.१०७॥
काव्यकर्तुर्यशश्चास्तु धर्मश्चापि प्रवर्धताम् ।
इज्यया चानया नित्यं प्रीयन्तां देवता इति ॥५.१०८॥

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Further, the following words of Vṛddhagopālaka in *Pañcarātram* also remind us of the last verse of the NS

'शान्तिर्भवतु शान्तिर्भवतु अस्माकं गोधनस्य च'

So this is a strange relationship of Bhāsa with the text of NS as available to us today - that the *bharatavākyas* of many of his plays have a line which is almost cited verbatim in the specimen of *nāndī* as given in the NS.

Despite this co-relation between Bhāsa and the NS, Bhāsa does not strictly adhere to the norms prescribed in the NS. Definitely, he was writing in a period when the process of the compilation of NS had not started, but Bhāsa had a very rich tradition of theatre before him. NS does not speak for this tradition in its kernel, but it records it in suggesting alternate models or options.

Which *Nāṭyaśāstra* Bhāsa followed then, if it was not the NS of Bharatamuni? T. Ganapati Shastri suggests that it could be the *Naṭasūtra* of Śilālin.[11] In all probability Śilālin had given certain aphorisms for the actors as the very name of his work suggest. We do not know whether his manual contained anything on the art of drama or on dramaturgy. Bharatamuni has referred to several authors, some of whom might have written their own *Nāṭyaśātras*.

In *Abhinavabhārati*, Abhinava refers to Subandhu as an ancient dramatist. This Subandhu had also authored a work on dramaturgy. He was a minister to king Bindusāra in third century BC. According to Śāradātanaya, Subandhu had given a different classification of *nāṭaka*; viz. - - *Pūrṇa, Praśānta, Bhāsvara, Lalita* and *Samagra*.[12] Subandhu also had a different idea of *sandhis* (junctures) in drama.

Śāradātanaya in his *Bhāvaprakāśa* not only defines and illustrates these five

11. "This might be the Naṭasūtra referred to by Panini as composed by Shilalimuni or by Krishashvamuni; or this might be a certain old Natyashastra written by Bharatamuni himself as is seen from the fact that the name of Bharata is mentioned by Bhasa in the term Bharatavakya." (*Bhasa's Plays*, p. 96)

12. सुबन्धुर्नाटकस्यापि लक्षणं प्राह पञ्चधा ।
पूर्णं चैव प्रशान्तं च भास्वरं ललितं तथा ॥ *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Śāradātānaya, Ed. Yadugiri Yatiraja & K.S. Ramaswamy Shastri, GOS No. 45, Oriental Institute, Vadodara, 1968, VIII *adhikāra*, p. 238, line-15-16.

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types of *Nāṭaka* defined by Subandhu, he also identifies *Svapnavāsadattaṃ* of Bhāsa as a *praśānta* type of *nāṭaka*. Each of the five types of *nāṭakas* as enumerated by Subandhu has a different set of five *sandhis*. The five *sandhis* which a *praśānta* type of *nāṭaka* is supposed to have are - *nyāsa, nyāsasamudbheda, bījokti, bījadarśana* and *anuddiṣṭasaṁhāra.*[13] He also informs that Druhiṇi had accepted the prominence of *Sāttvatīvṛtti* in a *praśānta* type of *nāṭaka.*[14] Śāradātanaya has also attempted an analysis of *Svapnavāsavadattaṃ* on the basis of the whole conceptual framework of a *praśānta nāṭaka* given by Subandhu.[15]

Thus Śāradātanaya in 13th century AD knew of the tradition of evaluating Bhāsa's plays on the basis of tenets given by Subandhu. Subandhu belongs to the school of Druhiṇi who flourished before Bharata. He also represents the system of dramaturgy which Bhāsa seems to have followed.

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13. प्रशान्तरसभूयिष्ठं प्रशान्तं नाम नाटकम् ।
न्यासो न्याससमुद्भेदो बीजोक्तिर्बीजदर्शनम् ।
ततोऽनुद्दिष्टसंहारः प्रशान्ते पञ्चसन्धयः । *Ibid,* VIII *adhikāra,* p. 238, line 20-22.
14. सात्त्वतीवृत्तिरत्र स्यादिति द्रौहिणिरब्रवीत् । *Ibid,* VIII *adhikāra,* p. 239, line 1.
15. स्वप्नवासवदत्ताख्यमुदाहरणमत्र तु ।
आच्छिद्य भूपाद् व्यसनाद् मुखसन्धिरयं भवेत् ॥
न्यासस्य च प्रतिमुखं समुद्भेद उदाहृतम् ॥
पद्मावत्या मुखं वीक्ष्य विशेषकविभूषितम् ।
जीवत्यावन्तिकेत्येतद् ज्ञातं भूमिभुजा यथा ।
उत्कण्ठितेन सोद्वेगं बीजोक्तिर्नामकीर्तनम् ।
एहि वासवदत्तेति क्वासीत्यादि दृश्यते ।
सहोवस्थितयोरेक प्रास्यान्यस्य गवेषणम् ।
दर्शनस्पर्शनालापैरेतत् स्याद् बीजदर्शनम् ।
चिरप्रसुप्तः कामो मे वीणया प्रतिबोधितः ।
तां तु देवीं न पश्यामि यस्या घोषवती प्रिया ।
किं ते भूयः प्रियं कुर्यामिति वाग् यत्र नोच्यते ।
तमनुद्दिष्टसंहारमित्याहुर्भरतादयः ॥ *ibid,* VIII *adhikāra,* p. 238-39, lines 20-22, 1-15

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VAJRASŪCIKĀ UPANIṢAD- ITS PLACE AMONG MINOR UPANIṢADS

S. Jena*

The Upaniṣads are an outcome of the spiritual quest of the ancient Aryans. In the age of the Brāhmaṇas the Vedic Aryans tried their best to fulfill their material ends by means of sacrifices. With all their material needs fulfilled, they observed that they lacked in getting perennial happiness; and the mind was still dissatisfied with all worldly objects. Now their attention turned inward and away from the din and bustle of home life, they repaired to the inmost recesses of the woods to ponder over this problem. They practised meditation and penance for hundreds of years and this period came to be known as the Āraṇyaka period, for resorting to the deep dense desolate corners of the forest, they made a long quest as to how to have eternal peace and bliss in life. In the age of the "Upaniṣad" meaning secret knowledge the ancient Aryans, through mental concentration and inward introspection, saw the inner light such as *Sarvam Khalu Idam Brahma* (All this is Brahman Chā. U. III. 14.1) *Aham Brahmāsmi* (I am Brahman Bṛ. U. I.4.10) *Ayamātmā Brahma* (This self is Brahman Bṛ. U. II.5.19) *Tattvamasi* (Thou art That Chā. U. VI. 8.7), यो वै भूमा तत्सुखं नाल्पे सुखमस्ति भूमैव सुखं भूमा त्वेव विजिज्ञासितव्य (That which is infinite, is bliss, there is no happiness in anything limited, the infinite alone is bliss, one must have desire to know the infinite Chā. U. VII. 23.1) - and so on. Thus a number of Upaniṣads came into being, of which the twelve principal Upaniṣads are- *Aitareya, Kauṣitakī (Ṛgveda), Muṇḍaka, Praśna (Atharva-veda), Chāndogya, Kena (Sāmaveda), Kaṭha, Taittirīya, Śvetāśvatara, Mahānārāyaṇa (Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda)* and *Iśa, Bṛhadāraṇyaka (Śukla Yajurveda).* While writing his commentary on *Brahmasūtra, Ācārya* Śaṅkara quotes these twelve[1] Upaniṣads and considers them to be sacred and authoritative ones.

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1. In his *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya* Śaṅkara mentions neither the *Maitrāyaṇī (Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda)* nor the *Māṇḍukya-Upaniṣad (Atharva-Veda).* This is referred to by Winternitz in *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. I. p.221

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Apart from these twelve major Upaniṣads, there are over 176 Upaniṣads, which are, by tradition, attributed to one or other of the Vedic schools, but very few of them have any real connection with the Veda. In a latest Upaniṣad like the *Muktikā-Upaniṣad* salvation is said to be attained by the study of 108 Upaniṣads. And this Upaniṣad provides a list of 108 Upaniṣads, classified according to the four Vedas : 10 Upaniṣads coming under the *Ṛgveda,* 19 under the *Śukla Yajurveda,* 32 under the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda,* 16 under the *Sāmaveda* and 31 under the *Atharva-Veda,* but this classification is not genuine because it is hardly based on ancient Vedic tradition[2]. Virtually speaking, most of these Upaniṣads are non- Vedic in character and they are generally treated as the Upaniṣads of the *Atharva-veda*[3]. The *Atharva-veda* was accepted into the Aryan fold much later and the authority of this Veda as sacred tradition was always doubtful, so it was quite natural to associate all kinds of apocryphal Upaniṣadic texts with the *Atharva-veda,* the Veda of black magic and sorcery.

These non- Vedic Upaniṣads have come down to us either independently or in larger collections and as such they are not very old. As rightly pointed out by Winternitz, this latest Upaniṣad literature may be classified as follows, according to its purpose and contents: (1) those works which present Vedānta doctrines (2) those which teach *yoga* (3) those which extol the ascetic life *(sannyāsa)* (4) those which glorify Viṣṇu and (5) those which glorify Śiva as the highest divinity and (6) Upaniṣads of the Śāktas and of other more insignificant sects.''[4]

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2. Rāmānuja quotes the *Garbha-Upaniṣad* and the *Mantrikā-(Cūlika-) Upaniṣads* as Atharva-vedic Upanisads, whereas the list in the *Muktikā-Upanisad* takes the former as belonging to the Black *Yajurveda* and the latter to the White *Yajurveda.*

3. The *Muktikā-Upaniṣad* speaks of *Nāda-bindu* and *Ātma-bodha Upaniṣad as* classified under *Ṛgveda, Tejobindu, Dhyāna-bindu, Brahma-vidya, Yoga- tattva* and *Prāṇāgnihotra Upaniṣad* classified under *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* and *Haṁsa. Paramahaṁsa* and *Jābāla Upaniṣad* under *Śukla Yajurveda,* but all these minor Upaniṣadic texts, in fact, belong to *Atharva-veda.*

4. Vide Winternitz, M. - *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. I. pp. 221-222.

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These Upaniṣads are written partly in prose, partly in a mixture of prose and verse and partly in epic *ślokas*. Generally regarded as minor Upaniṣads, most of them are religious rather than philosophical works and as such embody the views of religious sects of a much later period. Many of them are nearly related to the Purāṇas and Tantras, but still among them there are some which demand greater antiquity and they might be associated with the Veda. Śaṅkara refers to *Jābāla Upaniṣad* as an authority, *Subāla-Upaniṣad* is often quoted by Rāmānuja, the *Paramahaṁsa Upaniṣad,* the *Garbha-Upaniṣad,* the *Atharvaśīras Upaniṣad* and the *Vajrasūcikā - Upaniṣad* also come under this category. These Upaniṣads appear in various Vedic recensions. So it is very difficult to determine the exact date of these Upaniṣads.

Though very small, the *Vajraṣūcikā-Upaniṣad* is an important minor Upaniṣad. Winternitz remarks that this Upaniṣad "is not of very late origin.[5] It is ascribed to *Sāmaveda.*[6] It raises a vital question as follows : In accordance with the Vedas when the Smṛtis declare the *brāhmaṇa* as the most important of the four *varṇas,* this is to be examined as to what is meant by *brāhmaṇa.* Is it *Jīva* ? Is it body? Is it birth? Is it *jñāna* ? Is it *karma* ? Or is it a performer of *dharma?*

Since the *Jīva* or soul is the same in the many past and future bodies of all persons and since the soul is the same in all the bodies obtained by the force of *karma,* so the soul is not the *brāhmaṇa.*

As the body constituted of five elements is the same for all people down to the *caṇḍālas;* as old age and death, *dharma* and *adharma* are common to all human beings; as there is no absolute distinction that *brāhmaṇas* are white coloured, the *kṣatriyas* red-coloured, the *vaiśyas* yellow and the *śūdras* dark, so the body is not *brāhmaṇa.* Besides, if the body is *brāhmaṇa,* the stain of the murder of a *brāhmaṇa* would accrue to the son when the latter burns the corpse of his deceased *brāhmaṇa* father.

A man is not *brāhmaṇa* also by birth. Since many great sages have sprung from other castes and other orders of creation - Ṛṣyaśṛṅga was born of a deer,

5. *Ibid,* p.223

6. Aiyar, K. Narayanasvāmi - *Thirty Minor Upaniṣads,* pp. 5-110

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Kauśika of *kuśa* grass, Jambūka of a jackal, Vālmīki of an ant-hill, Vyāsa of a fisherman's daughter, Gautama from the back of a hare *śaśapṛṣthāt* Vasiṣṭha of Urvaśī and Agastya of a water-pot, so birth cannot be the deciding factor for brahminhood. These sages without their birth in the *brāhmaṇa* families have become great teachers of divine wisdom.

A man possessing knowledge too is not *brāhmaṇa*. As there are many *kṣatriyas* well conversant with the highest truth of life, so knowledge is never a criterion for deciding the brahminhood.

Again as the *prārabdha* (effects of *karma* in our former life which are being enjoyed in our present life), *sañcita* (effects of *karma* in our former lives which are collected together to be enjoyed in our future life) and *āgāmī* (effects of *karma* in our present life to be enjoyed hereafter) *karmas* are the same for all beings and as all people perform their actions impelled by the law of *karma*, so *karma* is not the *brāhmaṇa*.

A performer of *dharma* or virtuous actions is not *brāhmaṇa*. Since there are many *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* who are donors of gold etc. therefore a doer of virtuous deeds is not the *brāhmaṇa*.

After this the text goes forward to decide the exact definition of *brāhmaṇa* and says that he who has directly realized, like the myrobalan in his palm, *karatalāmalakavat*, the soul which is second to none, devoid of class and actions, free from the faults of six stains such as hunger, thirst, grief, confusion, old age and death, the soul that is of the nature of truth, knowledge, bliss and eternity, that is without any change in itself and of the nature of undivided bliss, the substratum of all *kalpas*, that exists penetrating all things, that pervades everything within and without like the ether, is the *brāhmaṇa*. He who is free from desires, passions, malice, emotion, delusion, thirst after worldly objects, who possesses the qualities such as *śama*, *dama*, *uparati*, *titikṣā*, *samādhāna* and *śraddhā*, and whose mind is untouched by pride, egoism etc., is the *brāhmaṇa*.

This is the view of the Vedas, the Smṛtis, the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas. Otherwise one cannot obtain the status of a *brāhmaṇa*. One should meditate on his self as the *sat-cit-ānanda* and the non-dual Brahman; one should meditate on

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his soul as the *saccidānanda* Brahman. This is, in all, the content of *Vajrasūcikā-Upaniṣad.*

Now, on a comparison of this *Vajrasūcikā-Upaniṣad* with *Vajrasūcī of* Aśvaghoṣa (100 A.D.) we notice that the latter text is more elaborate and systematic in treating brahminhood than the former text. What is described in the *Vajrasūcikā-Upaniṣad* in short, in a precise way, the *Vajrasūcī* of Aśvaghoṣa intends to tell the same thing both extensively and intensively with more examples, with more citations from the Vedas, epics and the Smṛti-texts. Exactly the same theme is taken up for discussion and debate in both the texts. And thus arises the question - of the two which one is earlier and which later.

It is Dr. J. Takakusu, a Japanese scholar who in his Japanese translation of Aśvaghoṣa's *Vajrasūcī* maintains the view that Aśvaghoṣa's text is a commentary to the *Vajrasūcikā-Upaniṣad.* In fact, one such manuscript supports it as a commentary *"atha Vajrasūcyupaniṣad vyākhyā;* but Aśvaghoṣa's *Vajrasūcī* is not at all a commentary. It does not follow the style in which a commentary is generally written. Due to similarity of theme and its elaborate exposition, it has been mistaken by the Japanese scholar to be a commentary. Why it is not a commentary, it is Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya who gives the following reasons:

i) Some of the questions as well as their answers found in the *Vajrasūcikā-Upaniṣad* are absent in Aśvaghoṣa's *Vajrasūcī.*

ii) The important passages narrating the essential characteristics of a *brahmaṇa* differ in these two texts.

iii) In the *Vajrasūcikā-Upaniṣad* sage Gautama is said to have been born from the back of a hare *śaśapṛṣthāt Gautamaḥ* and Agastya from a waterpot *Agastyaḥ kalase Jāta* but according to *Vajrasūcī* of Aśvaghoṣa Gautama was born from a clump of reeds *śaragulmācca Gautamaḥ* 8a) and Agastya from Agasti flower (अगस्त्योऽगस्तिपुष्पात् - *7b*)[7]

A commentary is not expected to differ from an earlier text in this way. So it seems that *Vajrasūcikā - Upaniṣad* is an abridged version of Aśvaghoṣa's

7. Mukhopadhyaya, Sujit Kumar *The Vajrasūcī of Aśvaghoṣa,* Introduction, p. XVI.

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Vajrasūcī written in imitation of it by a later writer and it has been subsequently incorporated in the list of 108 Upaniṣads as found in the *Muktikā-Upaniṣad* just to assign it high antiquity and authority, but it is certainly a later text. As mentioned earlier, though Winternitz speaks of it as an Upaniṣad "of not very late origin", it is indeed a later text where unlike the *Vajrasūcī* pungent criticism and severe attack against the *brāhmaṇas* has been deliberately avoided. M.M. Haraprasada Sastri also supports this view of the late origin of this Upaniṣad.

Lastly with emphasis we would like to say that either *Vajrasūcī* of Aśvaghoṣa or the *Vajrasūcikā-Upaniṣad* was not made freely available to the general public in ancient India. Had these two texts been widely circulated among the common folk of ancient India, this country would never have suffered from the social stigma like the hateful casteism and it would never have been divided into innumerable separatist groups as we see today. Interestingly enough, when B.H. Hodgson was preparing the English translation of Aśvaghoṣa's *Vajrasūcī* with the help of his *Paṇḍita* a *brāhmaṇa* of Banaras, soon he declined his co-operation with him[8] as the said text was a polemical work written very carefully with irrefutable arguments against the so-called caste system. So it appears that it is the higher class people, we mean particularly the *brāhmaṇas* who have suppressed and prevented the wide circulation of these two texts among the common mass of India just to protect their superiority over the other *varṇas*.

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8. *Vide* the interesting letter of B.H. Hodgson written to the Secretary, Asiatic Society dated 11th July, 1829. *The Vajrasūcī of Aśvaghoṣa*, pp. 25-26.

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MAGIC AND POWER IN *THE LAWS OF MANU*, THE *ARTHAŚĀSTRA* AND THE *KĀMASŪTRA*

Karl E. H. Seigfried*

Magic weaves its way through three key texts composed or compiled in India during the first three centuries of the last millennium. In *The Laws of Manu*, the *Arthaśāstra*, and the *Kāmasūtra*, the use of magic is simultaneously forbidden and encouraged. Even as they rail against its use, the latter two texts give detailed instructions for the performance of magic in a variety of situations. Common to all three works is the relationship of magic to power. In *The Laws of Manu*, the focus is on asserting religious power both against magic and with it. The *Arthaśāstra* uses magic to assert political power and the *Kāmasūtra* uses it to assert sexual power. While religion affects the next world and future lives, magic affects this world and this life and is thus at the core of these three practical literary works. After briefly introducing the texts and reviewing past attempts to define magic, this paper examines in detail the attitudes toward and uses of magic in each text.

The three books center on the concepts known as the triad (*trivarga*) and the three aims of human life (*puruṣārthas*): *dharma* (religion, justice, righteousness), *artha* (success, wealth, politics), and *kāma* (pleasure, desire, sex) - yet each places its emphasis on a different element of the triad. Although the three texts each address a different audience, all were composed by members of the priestly (*Brāhmaṇa*) class during the interregnum between the Maurya Empire (circa 321-185 BCE) and Gupta Empire (circa 320-480 CE). The second and third texts both challenge the assertions of the first in various ways.

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* Divinity School, University of Chicago, USA, Email. : seigfried@uchicago.edu

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Although it is clearly the work of several authors, the text known as *The Laws of Manu* itself claims to have been written by Manu ("the wise one"), the mythological king who is the purported first man and ancestor of humanity. Asserting that Manu himself was present at Creation, the text asserts a deep religious authority. Written in verse, the *Laws* were compiled in the first or second century and based on earlier *dharma* texts for which no specific credit is given. The *Laws* are addressed to priestly householders, privilege *dharma* as the most important element of the trinity, and present ideal forms of what should be. Preserved in an unbroken tradition of written texts, what began as a prescriptive work came to be viewed as a paradigmatic text.

The *Arthaśāstra* ("Treatise on Success") is attributed to Kauṭilya, prime minister to Emperor Chandragupta Maurya (reigned 324-297 BCE). The text itself dates much later, and it was likely composed at some point after *The Laws of Manu* in the first or second century. The work is a *śāstra* (text, science, discipline) written in prose with verses at the ends of each chapter. It quotes scholars of the Manu-school as it engages in logical argument with their propositions, often explicitly acknowledging other authors (usually in disagreement) for which textual sources do not survive. A normative work, the *Arthaśāstra* elevates *artha* to the top position as it presents a knowledge system addressed to the king - but also to other priests, judges, counselors, and ministers. Unlike *The Laws of Manu*, it was not transmitted as a full text, but only survived in quoted sections until a full copy was discovered in an attic in the early twentieth century.

Likewise written in prose with chapter-ending verses, the *Kāmasūtra* ("Treatise on Pleasure") also acknowledges, quotes, and disagrees with previous writers whose work does not otherwise survive. Likely written by Vātsyāyana in the third century and formally modeled on the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Kāmasūtra* combines Kauṭilya's references to previous authority with Manu's claims of divine origin as it states that its own original copy was made in heaven by various celestial figures - including Nandin, the bull who serves as guardian of the god Śiva. Promoting *kāma* as the primary goal, the work is mostly addressed to men of leisure with disposable income, although it states that women should be familiar with its contents and includes a full book addressed specifically to

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courtesans. Part of a courtly textual tradition, copies were kept and known by poets and kings.

In order to make sense of the position of magic in the three texts, it is necessary to formulate a working definition of magic itself. This is easier said than done. What follows is a review of past attempts to clarify a notoriously slippery subject. Rather than parsing each element of the work of each scholar, this review seeks to organize the many approaches into a coherent system of basic concepts. Much of this scholarship has focused on drawing a distinction between religion and magic - a division that is very important to Manu, for reasons discussed below.

At the most basic level, the priest asks the gods for help while the wizard takes care of things himself. According to Hunter and Whitten, it is this "element of control" that distinguishes religion's "more propitiatory" acts from magic's "techniques designed to control the supernatural or natural environments for specific purposes."[1] Yashodhara, the thirteenth-century commentator on the *Kāmasūtra*, quotes an unnamed poet a similar distinction:

> There are two kinds of marriages to a courtesan, one brought about by the gods and the other by human effort. The divine variety is caused by Kama's bow, and the other kind by the lover.[2]

Similarly, the priest addresses the divine in an effort to bring about his desired results, while the wizard uses his own magical skills to cause the changes he desires. While religion focuses on building and maintaining reciprocal relationships with deities, Glucklich defines magic as "an attempt to tame nature for human advantage"[3] that largely sidesteps interaction with divine figures.

The resolute practicality of the wizard's work further distinguishes it from that of the priest. Admittedly, this practicality is sometimes difficult to grasp when reading about potions made from eye of newt and toe of frog. The distinction

1. Hunter and Whitten, *Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, 254.
2. Vatsyayana, *Kamasutra*, 161 (note to 7.1.12).
3. Glucklich, *The End of Magic*, 9.

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is one of effect: although doing much in terms of social relations, religion often seeks to make an impact in the other world; magic resolutely seeks to bring about changes in this one. Magic, writes Malinowski, is "a body of purely practical acts, performed as a means to an end."[4] Gupta states that it "exists in the direct control by man, of the force of nature. Magic is not merely a type of belief, it is a practical art."[5] In some ways closer to science than to religion, writes Frazer, magic can be "regarded as a set of precepts which human beings observe in order to compass their ends."[6] In both the *Arthaśāstra* and *Kāmasūtra*, the wizard's goal is often what Weber calls "magical coercion"[7] of a second person - the forcing of one's will on another that is the essence of black magic.

Relationship to temporality is often a distinguishing factor between religion and magic. While prayer and sacrifice sometimes seek to cause effects in the (distant) future, Gupta states that "magic was not magic if it did not produce immediate solution of any problem."[8] Unconcerned with the fate of the soul and the complexities of rebirth, the wizard seeks immediate results for pressing problems. Weber defines religion as "a regularly organized and permanent enterprise concerned with influencing the gods, in contrast with the individual and occasional efforts of magicians."[9] In Flowers' words, "religious acts are often more calendrically and traditionally bound in their form and result, and magical acts can be more original and freely performed with a wide range of resultant possibilities."[10]

This temporal distinction shades into one of legality, morality, and regularity. The distinctions made by Mauss are helpful in this regard. Religious ritual is "predictable, prescribed and official"; magical rites are "unauthorized, abnormal and, at the very least, not highly estimable."[11]The irregular and need-based

4. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays*, 51.
5. Gupta, *Magical Beliefs and Superstitions*, 1.
6. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 53.
7. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 28.
8. Gupta, 5.
9. Weber, 28.
10. Flowers, *Runes and Magic*, 22.
11. Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, 24.

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nature of magic determines the usually secretive nature of the wizard's workings, even when - as in the *Arthaśāstra* - the magic user performs his rites on behalf of the king. Magic is not made "inside a temple or at some domestic shrine," and the elements of "[i]solution and secrecy are two almost perfect signs of the intimate character of a magical rite."The magic ritual "is private, secret, mysterious and approaches the limit of a prohibited rite."[12] Defining exactly where this limit lies is a concern addressed in all three texts.

Almost all of the magic described in the three works falls under Frazer's hoary old heading of sympathetic magic, in which it is assumed "that things act on each other at a distance through a secret sympathy."[13] The magical mind, according to Glucklich, postulates that "all elements in the world are interrelated, not in a mystical union, but in a tapestry of natural interactions."[14] Most of the examples in this paper can be sorted under Frazer's subheading of homoeopathic magic, which is based on the idea "that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause," and that the wizard "can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it."[15] A very few of them can be considered what Frazer called contagious magic, in which the wizard assumes "that things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed" and "that whatever [the wizard] does to a material object will affect equally the person with whom the object was once in contact, whether it formed part of his body or not."[16]

Two earlier texts form the main magical background for our three texts - the *Ṛg Veda* and the *Atharva Veda*. While *The Laws of Manu* regularly invoke the three Vedas as a triadic unit which includes the *Ṛg Veda*, all three texts draw upon the magical rites cataloged in the fourth Veda, the *Atharva Veda*. Full of cosmic mythology, the hymns of the *Ṛg Veda* stretch back to approximately 1200 BCE. They also contain instructions for magic manifested via performative

12. *Ibid.*, 23-4.
13. Frazer, 54.
14. Glucklich, 22.
15. Frazer, 52.
16. *Ibid.*

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speech acts, as does the *Atharva Veda* of approximately 900 BCE. The latter Veda, however, also includes more object-based magic such as later appears in the *Arthaśāstra* and *Kāmasūtra*. Like the *Laws*, the *Atharva Veda* claims a supernatural source; Stutley states that the text ascribes itself "to the legendary fire-priest or priest-magician Atharvan, who in later mythology was said to be the son of [the creator-god] Brahmā. From Brahmā he received the *brahmavidyā*, the foundation of all knowledge."[17] Winternitz insists that "the magic-poetry of the Atharvaveda as such is as old if not older than the sacrificial poetry of Ṛgveda and that numerous pieces of the Atharvaveda can be traced back to the same hoary past as the oldest songs of Ṛgveda."[18] In any case, the *Laws*, the *Arthaśāstra*, and the *Kāmasūtra* make use of the magic of both older texts, even as they condemn such usage.

In *The Laws of Manu*, the priest is promoted as having a monopoly on mystical power, and the magical actions of the wizard are seen as a threat to a system with the priest at the pinnacle of society. In a structure that sees fees of money and materials routed to the priest as reward for performing ritual, having sole control of mystic means gives the priest both social power and financial power. Working outside the sacrificial structure, the freelance wizard-for-hire can only be seen as a threat to the priest's hegemony. Although Manu claims that the goals and methods of the wizards are against *dharma*, he leaves room for priests themselves to use magic when necessary. Rather than forbidding all magic, Manu's primary focus is on maintaining power against the non-priestly magic-using competition.

Gupta and Flowers argue that the priest asserts a monopoly on mystic information, reserving "all knowledge to himself"[19] and those "within the socio-cultic structure"[20] to which the lone wizard is an outsider. Manu cites Vedic authority to state that "[b]y his very birth a priest is a deity even for the gods and the only authority for people in this world, for the Veda is the foundation in

17. Stutley, *Ancient Indian Magic and Folklore*, 2.
18. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, 116.
19. Gupta, 26.
20. Flowers, 25.

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this matter."[21] Indeed, the Vedas "are focused on the theory and practice of the fire sacrifice (*yajña*), the operation of which the priests monopolized." Manu regularly emphasizes the financial and material rewards for priests, and "the more and bigger the sacrifice (which included gifts to the officiating priests), the more and bigger the reward of offering it."[22] Both priest and patron benefit from the sacrificial system, and the interloping wizard offering his services to the same people who would hire a priest is a clear threat to that priest's income stream.

Already in the *Atharva Veda*, the priest seeks divine aid against encroaching wizards and the demons who are "the offspring of the sorcerer."[23] Given the distinguishing features of religion (as opposed to magic) listed above, it is no surprise that the priest calls upon the gods for help against his rival: "Do thou, O Agni, drag hither the sorcerers, bound in shackles; then Indra with his thunderbolt shall cut off their heads!"[24] Even in a book of magical incantations, the priest protects his territory. Durkheim states that religious beliefs and ritual practices "are always shared by a definite group that professes them" and serve to unify the class and draw boundaries against outsiders.[25] Weber writes that, although wizards "may wield considerable power, and their essentially magical celebrations may play a central role in the life of their people...they lack a continuously operative cult" and so remain outside the priestly power structure as a threat to the "vested interests of a priesthood in a cult."[26]

Like religion, magic has a social function. Although the work of the priest is often focused on future spiritual goals, Horowitz states that both priest and wizard "were leading members in the community precisely because they did possess real knowledge and logical solutions to problems as disparate as building boats and healing the sick."[27] For a priest "who for his subsistence often had to

21. Doniger and Smith, 259 (11.85).
22. *Ibid.*, xxiii, xxvii.
23. Bloomfield,*Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, 65 (1.8.3).
24. *Ibid.*, 64 (1.7.7).
25. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 41.
26. Weber, 30, 31.
27. Horowitz, *Philosophy, Science and the Sociology of Knowledge*, 86.

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rely on the patronage of his clients," writes Goudriaan, it is of primary importance to protect his contract with the ruling class and "assert his indispensability by offering that what people expected most of him: ceremonies securing safety and welfare as well as victory over enemies."[28] A wizard who can provide these same services while remaining outside of the priestly system is simply an unwanted business competitor who works outside the established structure even as he extracts personal profit from its patrons. "There is no Church of magic," writes Durkheim, and the wizard - even when serving powerful clients-remains a lone practitioner.[29]

Manu explicitly condemns specific forms of magical practice. In a section on "minor crimes," he includes "using magic spells, and performing (magic) rituals involving the use of roots."[30] This root-witchcraft (*mūlakarma*)[31] is repeatedly censured by Manu, who singles the practice out when he proclaims that a "fine of two hundred (pennies) should be imposed for all magic spells, for rituals that make use of roots when they are performed by people who are not trustworthy, and for various kinds of witchcraft."[32] The escape clause provided in the implied acceptance of censured forms of magic performed by those who are trustworthy will be addressed below, but it is clear that Manu associates the practice with undesirables. While addressing the mixing of castes through procreation, he states, "From a 'Fierce' Untouchable man in a 'Tribal' woman the evil 'Puppy-cooker' is born, who makes his livelihood from the vice of roots and is always despised by good people."[33]

The unsanctioned use of roots "that are fatal poisons, addictive drugs, or used in malevolent magic rituals"[34] is also condemned in the *Mahābhārata*.

27. Horowitz, *Philosophy, Science and the Sociology of Knowledge*, 86.
28. Goudriaan, *Māyā Divine and Human*, 232.
29. Durkheim, 42.
30. Doniger and Smith, 257 (11.64).
31. Olivelle, *The Law Code of Manu*, 287 (note to 11.64). Also called *mūlacaraka*.
32. Doniger and Smith, 228 (9.290).
33. *Ibid.*, 240 (10.38).
34. *Ibid.*, 240 (note to 10.38).

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Satyabhāmā Sātrajiti, "who was Kṛṣṇa's chief queen," asks the heroine Draupadī how she conducts herself when she "attend[s] on the Pāṇḍavas" and what keeps her several husbands "always amenable." Specifically, she ask, "Is there a special ablution, spells, herbs? A powerful knowledge of roots?" Draupadī replies, "What you are asking, Satyā, is how wanton women behave! Why should there be praise for the path traveled by the wicked?" She proclaims the proverbial line, "When a husband finds out that his woman uses spells or drugs on him, he gets as frightened of her as of a snake that has got into the house," and she agrees with Manu that "Those evil women with their wicked ways in effect kill their husbands, and a woman should never in any way do anything displeasing to her husband."[35] This sanction will also appear in the *Kāmasūtra*, and it closely lines up with the Manu's views. Indeed, "it is not certain which was the source and which the borrower."[36]

Root-witchcraft is not the only magical practice denounced by Manu. The king is called upon to recognize "fortune-tellers" and "those who live by announcing good luck" as "open thorns for the people."[37] Manu places great importance on the ceremony for the dead (*śrāddha*), and his long list of those who should be excluded from attending the rite includes many types of criminals, fallen people, immoral people, other undesirables - and also astrologers. This last element is somewhat strange, given Manu's insistence on the key role of constellations and moon phases for the success of ritual.[38] In fact, Manu is both for and against the use of magic. His complicated stance on the subject mirrors those he takes on many problematic issues addressed in the *Laws*. The complication is compounded by the nature of both fortune telling and astrology: are these actually forms of magic (which *changes* the way things will happen) or some other form of ritualized activity (which *sees* the way things will happen)?

Although drawing a strict line against non-priestly magic users, Manu's condemnation "certainly did not mean to include those who practiced for the weal of the community or who defended the interests of the brahman grade of

35. Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, 665 (3.222.1-17).

36. Doniger and Smith, xviii.

37. *Ibid.*,225-6 (9.258-60).

38. *Ibid.*, 72 (3.273-278).

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society." The targets of Manu's distrust are practitioners who are, in the words of Goudriaan, "among the common people who try to make a living by their arts without being sanctioned by a public authority."[39] Proper rituals led by the priest are free from censure, even though sacrifice - the key priestly rite - itself seems to be what Weber calls "a magical instrumentality" of sympathetic magic which "represents a transformation in the significance of the even older notion that to rend and consume a strong (and later a scared) animal enables the eaters to absorb its potencies."[40] The fact that the ritual is performed by the priest itself sanctions the action as sacred - a fact underscored by Manu's convenient caveat exempting the sacrificial act from the more general prohibition on killing: "The Self-existent one himself created sacrificial animals for sacrifice; sacrifice is for the good of this whole (universe); and therefore killing in a sacrifice is not killing."[41] Vedic sacrifice is distinguished from magic, because the good will of the gods is still ultimately necessary; in the sacrificial act, the priest persuades rather than compels. By the time of the *Brāhmaṇas* - and hence Manu - some sacrifices did compel the gods and were therefore closer to magical practice.

Manu endorses specifically magical rites when they are practiced by a priest. In a passage asserting the "manly power" (*vīryam*) of the priest, Manu states, "He should not hesitate to deploy the revealed canonical texts of the *Atharva Veda*. Speech is the weapon of the priest, and with it a twice-born man can slay his enemies."[42] Likewise, the priest should chant "Vedic verses that dispel poison" over food that the king is to eat,[43]apparently a reference to the charms against poison (*bhaishagyāni*) of the *Atharva Veda*.[44] This may be helpful white magic, but it is still magic.The idea of religion being defined as calendrical (taking place in a recurrent fashion) and magic as critical (used, in Titiev's terms, "only when an emergency or crisis seems to have arisen")[45] gets muddled at

39. Goudriaan, 233.
40. Weber, 26.
41. Doniger and Smith, 103 (5.39).
42. *Ibid.*, 254 (11.33).
43. *Ibid.*, 150 (7.217).
44. Bloomfield, xlviii.
45. Titiev, "A Fresh Approach to the Problem of Magic and Religion," 293.

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these points in the *Laws*. Manu often qualifies his strict pronouncements with escape clauses when faced with a situation "in extremity" (*āpad*) - "an emergency, when normal rules do not apply," according to Doniger.[46] In a nice bit of circular logic, the priest is allowed to use magic when a situation arises in which magic should be used. This pragmatism will be taken to its ultimate conclusion in the *Arthaśāstra*, but even in Manu "witchcraft blows hot and cold from the same mouth," depending on need. What is forbidden for the wizard is, "in extremity," allowable for the priest. He who rules, makes the rules; as Bloomfield writes, "It is a question throughout of my sorcery, or thy sorcery."[47]

Unlike the authors of the other two texts, Manu does not explicitly engage with other authorities. He is not in favor of disputation and argument; what the priest says, is. Magic used by the priest is pleasing to the gods and is usually for the benefit of others; magic used by the wizards has nothing to do with the gods and is often for personal gain - although both priest and wizard perform rituals for profit. As Mauss argues, the difference in the view of magic performed by the two types of practitioners is defined by interdiction; "It is the fact of prohibition itself which gives the spell its magical character... The fact of [evil spells] being prohibited provides a delimitation for the whole sphere of magical action. We have, in other words, two extremes which form the differing poles of magic religion: the pole of sacrifice and the pole of evil spells."[48] While pushing the wizard to the extreme pole and holding him there, Manu allows the priest to move between the two ends at his convenience.

In the *Arthaśāstra*, the king is advised to use magical means to enforce his will on his own people and on enemies internal and external. In sharp contrast to Manu, Kauṭilya brazenly advises adharmic (irreligious) activities including lying, trickery, violence, and even using statues of gods to murder enemies inside temples - which goes far beyond Manu's prohibition against damaging "images and statues."[49] Although Kauṭilya pays pious lip-service to dharma in the work's

46. Doniger, *On Hinduism*, 266.

47. Bloomfield, xxxix.

48. Mauss, 22.

49. Doniger and Smith, 228 (9.285).

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outer sections and in the verses at ends of chapters, the body of the text regularly advocates violating *dharma* in order to pursue *artha*. This loose relationship to *dharma* is obvious even in the work's dedication to both Bṛhaspati (priest of the gods) and Śukra (priest of the anti-gods).[50] The king pursues *dharma* when convenient, but, in the end, he does what needs to be done - like Rāma adharmically shooting the monkey king Vālin from behind a tree in order to advance his own heroic agenda. Manu's exceptions "in extremity" here become the rule. The śāstric tradition's encyclopedic mindset leads to the inclusion of religious, scientific, economic, and organizational means for the king to impose his will; given the emphasis on completeness, magic is merely another tool. In a work centered on *artha* - a term with meanings of including "achieving your goal" and "getting what you want" - the primary focus is on asserting political power, by any means necessary.

At the beginning of the fourteenth book of the *Arthaśāstra*, "On Esoteric Practices" (*aupaniṣadikam*), Kauṭilya offers a rationale for the work's inclusion of magic: "For the sake of protecting the four social classes, he [the king] should employ esoteric practices against very unrighteous people." He concludes the fifteenth and final book by summing up the benefits of the work as a whole and stating that the treatise "suppresses those who are unrighteous (*adharmān*)."[51] This is a bit strange, given that the king himself has been advised to utilize unrighteous practices throughout the whole of the *Arthaśāstra* and that this fourteenth book offers instructions on black magic practices that sometimes cross a line into horror. With a political and propagandist rhetorical strategy still popular today, Kauṭilya justifies the use of unrighteous practices by asserting that the enemy is himself an unrighteous and somewhat inhuman "thorn," so strong measures must necessarily be used. As the wizard, so the waterboarder.

In another reverse echo of modern methods, the fourteenth book present a large set of ingredient lists for magical powders and potions that often seem more like chemical warfare than wizardry. The mixtures are said to be fatally

50. Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India: Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, 63 (before 1.1.1).

51. *Ibid.*,18, 421 (14.1.1), 438 (15.1.72).

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poisonous[52] and/or cause blindness,[53] dumbness, deafness,[54] coma,[55] madness,[56] rabies,[57] leprosy, urinary disease, consumption, paralysis of the tongue, cholera, fever,[58]disfigurement,[59] and whiteness of skin and hair.[60] Also included are instructions to transform a lizard or snake into a creature which "causes death wherever it looks."[61] In the pursuit of power, the king is expected to set aside any dharmic concerns and focus on the total destruction of the thorns that threaten - or are imagined to threaten - his complete control.

Almost all of the *Arthaśāstra*'s wizardry is of the homoeopathic subset of sympathetic magic that imagines "like produces like." The formulas that enable the practitioner to become invisible, see in the dark, and walk "with his shadow and shape invisible" are made from eyes of "animals that roam at night."[62] To turn an enemy's skin and hair white, the wizard makes a potion from white things - white mustard seeds, dung of white foal and white boa constrictor, urine of a white goat, milt, salt and a white lizard.[63]

Amidst all of this black magic (designed to harm others), it is notable that there are only a few instances of white magic (designed to help oneself or others): a few powders and potions that cure leprosy[64] or enable a person to glow with fire[65]and walk on burning coal.[66] In addition, the very short final

52. *Ibid.*, 421-2 (14.1.4-9, 13, 18).
53. *Ibid.*, 422 (14.1.10-12, 14-15).
54. *Ibid.*, 423 (14.1.25).
55. *Ibid.*, 422-3 (16-17)
56. *Ibid.*, 423 (14.1.19).
57. *Ibid.*, 423 (14.1.29-30).
58. *Ibid.*, 423, 425 (14.1.20-24, 14.2.11-13).
59. *Ibid.*, 425 (14.2.4-5).
60. *Ibid.*, 425 (14.1.8-10).
61. *Ibid.*, 424 (14.1.33).
62. *Ibid.*, 427-8 (14.3.1-3, 6-7).
63. *Ibid.*, 425 (14.1.8-10).
64. *Ibid.*, 425 (14.1.14).
65. *Ibid.*, 426 (14.2.18-26).
66. *Ibid.*, 426 (14.2.27-29).

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chapter of the book includes a brief catalog of antidotes to some of the magical attacks featured. The lesson is clearly that black magic is the supernatural tool most useful to the king.

The *Arthaśāstra* is a goal-oriented text, not a reflective work. The goal is to extend control over all elements of worldly life, so magic is adopted as a form of what Horowitz calls "pre-philosophy" used in "efforts to master the physical universe" and the "task of capturing from nature the secrets of material abundance."[67] Rather than explorations of the morality of magic (black or white), the encyclopedic śāstric tendency towards tallies manifests in condensed lists of ingredients for various magical effects. Outside basic Manu-like injunctions against unsanctioned wizardry, the ethics of sorcery remain undeveloped, in Durkheim's words, "probably because, given its pursuit of technical and utilitarian ends, magic does not waste time in pure speculation."[68]

McClish and Olivelle argue that the practical and ends-oriented nature of the *Arthaśāstra* leads Kauṭilya to generally give "more credence to what we might think of as magic - supernaturally effective practices - than to the supplication of independent divine powers."[69] Magic, like religion, seeks to make sense of the universe and, according to Horowitz, "is as much an appeal to empirical description and a logical ordering of known events, as it is faith in the forces of the unknown."[70] For the king focused on expanding his dominion, the "practical theology"[71] of the wizard (to use Velde's term) supplements the more prosaic efforts of his array of ministers with rituals that, as Gupta writes, "deal with the incalculable elements."[72]

While it is debatable whether Kauṭilya believes in the tenets of traditional religion, he clearly accepts the reality and efficacy of magic. As part of "the six-

67. Horowitz, 86, 79-80.
68. Durkheim, 39.
69. McClish and Olivelle, lxix.
70. Horowitz, 86.
71. Velde, 'The God Heka in Egyptian Theology,' 176.
72. Gupta, 7.

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fold strategy" against a foreign power, he has the king state "by creating confidence through a peace pact, I will hurt the activities of my enemy by employing secret activities and occult practices."[73] Magic is an accepted tool of the king throughout the explication of the strategic system, and there is no sense that its use is symbolic or otherwise impractical. The king also states, "When [the enemy] is nearby, I will kill him at will employing a weapon, fire, or poison, or through occult practices."[74] Elsewhere in the text, Kauṭilya makes magic one of the key means by which a king can defeat his rivals; the king can "outwit even enemies possessing energy and might through strategies such as conciliation and by means of secret measures and occult practices."[75] Magic is integral to the functioning of the king's war effort, and objects and rites such as the "Net of magic [*aindrajāla*] and esoteric practices"[76] are matter-of-factly included in the list of things overseen by his Superintendent of the Armory.

Parallel to this practical application of magic is a leveling of the differences between religion and magic. Rather than focusing on the cosmic and spiritual effects of religious ritual in the Otherworld or future rebirths, Kauṭilya largely presents religious rites as means of the same order as magical ones. The book "On Esoteric Practices" concludes the chapter on "Secret Means of Killing Enemy Troops" with a poem giving instructions for creating a magic fire that blurs the lines between religion and magic as it includes offerings, sacrifice, ritual and invocation of deities.[77] In fact, many of the magical rites invoke deities. This blurring occurs not only in the fourteenth book, but in the core of the *Arthaśāstra*, as well. In order to fight an epidemic, the king is instructed to "have these carried out: bathing at sacred fords, worship of Mahākaccha, milking cows in the cemetery, burning a headless trunk, and a gods' night."[78] No distinction is made between serene religious ritual and adharmic black magic. The same equivalence is shown in means for fighting dangerous snakes: "experts in the

73. Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law*, 278 (7.1.32).

74. *Ibid.*, 318 (7.15.12).

75. *Ibid.*, 350 (9.1.15).

76. *Ibid.*, 143 (2.19.19).

77. *Ibid.*, 424 (14.1.35-40).

78. *Ibid.*, 229 (4.3.15).

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Atharvaveda should perform magic spells. On the days of the moon's change, moreover, he should get the rites of cobra worship performed."[79] Supernatural enemies are opposed with a combination of religious and magical means, with no place of preference given to either: "When there is a danger from demons, experts in the *Atharvaveda* or those proficient in magical practices should perform demon-killing rites. On the days of the moon's change, moreover, he should get the rites of sanctuary worship performed with offerings of platforms, umbrellas, food, pennants, and goats."[80]

Underscoring this equivalence, Kauṭilya advises the king to officially employ wizards along with his royal priests - an idea which would have doubtlessly horrified Manu, as it cuts to the core of his fear of wizards encroaching upon priestly power. At the top of court hierarchy is the king's chaplain (*purohita*), a man "who is thoroughly trained in the Veda together with the limbs [ancillary texts], in divine omens, and in government, and who could counteract divine and human adversities through Atharvan means," i.e. with "ritual means for warding off impending catastrophes given in the *Atharva Veda* or in literature and practice connected to that Vedic tradition."[81] Manu's loophole for the priest to use magic means in extremity is here made wide enough for the wizard to walk through and take his place in the king's retinue, as Bloomfield writes, "because indispensable sciences like medicine and astrology are Atharvanic by distinction, and because the Atharvan performs, especially for the king, inestimable services in the injury and overthrow of enemies."[82] The wizard serves the practical (and adharmic) needs of the king in a way that the priest cannot.

This is not to say that the wizard has supplanted the priest, but that - given Kauṭilya's pragmatic philosophy that privileges *artha* over *dharma* - the king will use the skills of the magic user and sacrificial officiant interchangeably. Goudriaan writes that, for the king as client, "the method by which his aim is realized was

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79. *Ibid.*, 230 (4.3.37-8).
80. *Ibid.*, 231 (4.4.40-1).
81. *Ibid.*, 74, 474 (1.9.9 and note).
82. Bloomfield, xlvi.

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the concern of the religious specialist, no matter if he was a guru, yogin or purohita; his own concern was only that the effects were obtained.''[83] To forward his agenda - and contra Manu - magic practitioners are front and center in the *Arthaśāstra*'s projection of public life. The text's description of the king's ideal day includes an instruction that the king ''should receive the blessings of the Officiating Priest, Teacher, and Chaplain, and meet with his physician, chef, and astrologer.''[84] Among the salaried employees of the king are diviners, soothsayers, and astrologers[85] - some of the people Manu is most nervous about. The king's forces include ''secret agents'' who are ''members of a corps who have to be necessarily maintained when they study the interpretation of signs, the interpretation of limbs, magical lore, creating illusions, Law of hermitages, interpretation of omens, and interpretation of the interstices of a circle, or when they study the science of association.''[86] As with the fortune tellers and astrologers discussed above, some of these agents have skills that straddle a line between magic and other ritualized activity - or even ancient science.

The king turns to magic users during times of trouble caused by natural, supernatural, and military adversaries. Giving little precedence to priests, Kauṭilya recommends that ''[t]hose proficient in magical practices or those knowledgeable in the Vedas should perform spells against rain.''[87]Natural and demonic forces are repelled by either the priest or the wizard: ''These dangers are caused by fate: fire, water, disease, epidemic, panic, famine, and demonic creation. These are overcome by homage paid to gods and Brāhmaṇas... Excessive rain, lack of rain, or a demonic creation; these are overcome through Atharvan rites and interventions by thaumaturgic ascetics.''[88] During the preparations for a military campaign, astrologers advise those constructing the encampments of the king's forces.[89] As the troops prepare to engage the enemy, ''Assistants of the Chaplain

83. Goudriaan, 231.
84. Olivelle, trans., *King, Governance, and Law*, 93 (1.19.23).
85. *Ibid.*, 262 (5.3.13).
86. *Ibid.*, 78 (1.12.1).
87. *Ibid.*, 229 (4.3.11).
88. *Ibid.*, 371 (9.7.82-4).
89. *Ibid.*, 373 (10.1.1).

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should speak about the employment of black magic and sorcery, and mechanics, carpenters, and astrologers about the success of their own activities and the failure of those of the enemies."[90] Kauṭilya normalizes magic to the point where it is as socially acceptable as carpentry.

Despite this normalization, there remains a fear of magic in the *Arthaśāstra*. Early on, the king is warned about being alone with wizards who may use their powers against him. Magic, unlike religion, has no moral principles. The king is advised to turn to priests for protection against magic and to "try lawsuits of recluses and experts in magical lore not by himself but along with scholars of the triple Veda, because such persons may be provoked to anger."[91] Likewise, he "should meet a thaumaturgic ascetic attended by trustworthy armed guards."[92] The king seeks the support of members of two classes - the priest and the warrior - for protection against the threatening wizard. The magic users here distrusted are those outside the king's inner circle of advisors and ministers, yet the horror and pollution involved in the rites of black magic make it dangerous in general.

The *Schreckenszutaten* for the magic powders and potions of Kauṭilya's fourteenth book include the urine and dung of men,[93] human blood,[94] human flesh, human flesh from a funeral pyre,[95] a woman's menstrual discharge[96] and "the fat produced from pressing the aborted fetuses of all the social classes - or dead children within a cemetery."[97] In these rites aimed at an enemy of the king, the wizard embraces objects tainted with the horror of pollution in order to engage in what Gupta calls a "human exercise of alleged supernatural power for anti-social evil purposes."[98] Evil is in the eye of the beholder; what brings terror

90. *Ibid.*, 379 (10.3.44).
91. *Ibid.*, 93 (1.19.32).
92. *Ibid.*, 97 (1.21.24).
93. *Ibid.*, 422 (14.1.13, 16).
94. *Ibid.*, 423 (14.1.21, 30).
95. *Ibid.*, 424 (14.1.37).
96. *Ibid.*, 426 (14.2.32).
97. *Ibid.*, 427 (14.2.44).
98. Gupta, 16.

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to the victim brings exultation to the victor. However, the use of polluting objects is inherently anti-social as it forces pollution onto the enemy via black magic (but also onto the perpetrator, who must handle the horrid stuff), and it is this anti-social nature that leads Manu to, as Stutley writes, "disapprove of many atharvanic practices and lay down severe penalties for those who perform prohibited rites; neither do [the law books] approve of fortune-telling, astrology and the practice of medicine which was regarded as an impure profession, probably because of the polluting effect of contact with corpses."[99]

Of course, the king doesn't himself venture into the cremation grounds to steal a dead baby. He has people for that. Yet the taint remains troublesome. Even as Kauṭilya normalizes the use of magic, the wizard (in Durkheim's words) "takes a kind of professional pleasure in profaning holy things, inverting religious ceremonies in [his] rites."[100] The wizard's embrace of the use of the dead in his rituals flaunts the very symbol of the prototypical adharmic action in Manu's *Laws*; killing a priest brings down a punishment which includes spending twelve years alone in a forest hut "using the skull of a corpse as his flag."[101] In using the dead to accomplish his aims, Kauṭilya's wizard brazenly flies the flag of *adharma.*

The use of polluting black magic in the *Arthaśāstra* is by no means limited to the fourteenth book. Already in the first book, dead bodies are used to protect the king: "When a fire produced by churning human bones is taken around the royal residence three times counter clockwise [i.e., the unholy direction], no other fire will burn it and no other fire will flare up there; this happens also when it is daubed with ash produced by lightning and with water from hail mixed with earth."[102] This analogical use of the dead to create silence and inaction will be discussed below, but it is also noteworthy that the instructions here allude to the power of an object previously struck by lightning to prevent future strikes or burnings - a concept of the divine thunder weapon that is prevalent in India, the Indo-European continuum, and worldwide folkloric belief in general.[103]

99. Stutley, 5.

100. Durkheim, 40.

101. Doniger and Smith, 258 (11.73).

102. Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law*, 94 (1.20.4)

103. Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore.*

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Underscoring the inherent integrity of the fourteenth book to the whole of the text, lightning magic reappears in that later section - first in a brief echo of the first mention: "Ash from a lightning strike is a means of extinguishing fire."[104] Given the nature and goals of the "esoteric practices," it is noteworthy that the more detailed instance of lightning magic changes the defensive rite into an offensive one (and therefore white magic into black magic): "When a piece of charcoal or a fire kindled by lightning is caught and maintained in pieces of wood burnt by lightning, that fire, into which a ritual offering to Rudra has been made under the constellation Kṛttikā (Pleiades) or Bharaṇi (Arietis), when directed against anyone burns, and there is nothing that can counteract it."[105]

At the core of the black magic in the *Arthaśāstra* is the homoeopathic use of the dead to produce an effect on living enemies. At the least morbid end of the spectrum is a ritual that involves burying rat-scrapings or a porcupine quill during a dark-of-moon fortnight "in an undisturbed cremation spot."[106] Similarly, the wizard "should offer a Bali-oblation on an undisturbed cremation spot, take a dead myna bird using this ritual formula, and tie it in a bag made of a hog's snout."[107] The second rite includes a verbal ritual formula that invokes "Fire, the divinities, and the ten directions";[108] in the midst of an adharmic ritual, the wizard invokes the sacred - an underscoring of Kauṭilya's blurring of distinctions between religion and magic. This idea is repeated, as other parallel spells involve reciting ritual formulae that call on Manu and "those gods in the divine realms,"[109] Brahmā and "all the divinities,"[110] and "the attendant of Kṛṣṇa."[111] In each case, the goal of the rite using the dead is to make enemies fall into an oblivious and death-like sleep - a clear example of homoeopathic magic.

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104. Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law*, 426 (14.2.31).

105. *Ibid.*, 424 (14.1.34).

106. *Ibid.*, 429 (14.3.27-31, 33).

107. *Ibid.*, 431 (14.3.48-50).

108. *Ibid.*, 431 (14.3.51-2).

109. *Ibid.*, 429 (14.3.19-26).

110. *Ibid.*, 430 (14.3.34-39).

111. *Ibid.*, 430 (14.3.43-47).

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A similar idea of quieting appears in a section instructing the wizard to make a fire with "the left rib bones of a man killed by a weapon or impaled on a stake" or "by drilling the bones of a man or a woman with a human rib"; when it "is taken around some place three times counterclockwise [again, the unholy direction], no other fire will burn there."[112] The fire dies as the dead have died. Sometimes the creation of homoeopathic effects seems fanciful, as in the instructions that the wizard "should plant Tuvarī seeds in soil placed in the skull of a man killed by a weapon or impaled on a stake," then braid the resultant sprouts into a rope, then cut the rope "in front of bows and mechanical devices equipped with strings" - a ritual action which "causes those strings to snap."[113] At other times, the rituals combine elements of homoeopathic and contagious magic, as in the rites that join various objects with "clothes of a dead person," "a human bone," or "flowers from a corpse" and leave them "in a place where a man places his foot" in order to cause his death, destruction, and impotency, respectively.[114]

The idea of casting magical sleep appears already in the *Ṛg Veda*, in which a hymn used to put people to sleep is "said to have been used by thieves and housebreakers" and, writes Doniger, "is specifically adapted to use by lovers in the *Atharva Veda*."[115] The *Arthaśāstra*'s conflation of this concept with the use of aborted fetuses, dead children, and - in particular - men who died violent deaths suggests a belief in the wizard's ability to harness some magical *thing* in the experience of (usually untimely) death and project it on an enemy. This idea appears in a wide variety of rituals in the fourteenth book. In order to create a magic lizard or snake whose gaze causes death, the magic user must find "a man condemned to death" to participate in the ritual.[116] To "move about with his shadow and shape invisible," the wizard must "plant barley seed in soil placed in the skull of a man killed by a weapon or impaled on a stake,"[117] use "a

112. *Ibid.*, 427 (14.2.38).

113. *Ibid.*, 431 (14.3.64-66).

114. *Ibid.*, 428 (14.3.73-4, 77-8).

115. Doniger, *The Rig Veda*, 288-9 (note to 7.55).

116. Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law*, 424 (14.1.33).

117. *Ibid.*, 428 (14.3.4-5).

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collyrium receptacle made with the thighbone of a murderer" to apply the eye powder,[118] "fill the skull of any animal that roams at night with collyrium, insert it into the vagina of a dead woman, and set fire to it" before applying,[119] or "make a pouch out of the clothes of a man who has died naturally and fill it with ash from the pyre" of "a Brāhmaṇa who had maintained the three sacred fires."[120] The unseeing eye of the dead homoeopathically closes the eye of the wizard's victim in sleep or death or, at least, makes the eye of the enemy equally unable to observe the caster of the spell. This idea has roots or parallels in mythology; Doniger writes that "[t]he Asuras, noted for their magic, possess a miraculous balm which, placed upon the eyes, makes the bearer invisible to the eyes of others."[121] The concept of invisible agents fits with the *Arthaśāstra*'s theme of keeping the king's enemies "in the dark" and of making use of "invisible people" æ mendicants, wanderers, and other individuals that no one notices. Like Indra, the king has a thousand eyes and a thousand spies; he sees all yet is able to remain unseen himself.

The use of the dead for soporific and blinding magic is part of what Frazer calls "a fruitful branch of homoeopathic magic... which works by means of the dead; for just as the dead can neither see nor hear nor speak, so you may on homoeopathic principles render people blind, deaf, and dumb by the use of dead men's bones or anything else that is tainted by the infection of death."[122] Putting the enemy to sleep by using some part of a corpse on the principle of "like produces like" is a practice with a wide spatial and temporal dispersion. In the eighteenth century, burglars in France, Germany, and Spain were reported to make use of the Hand of Glory. To create this magical object, the hand of a hanged man is prepared under ritual conditions similar to those described by Kauṭilya and used as a holder for "a kind of candle" made "with the fat of a hanged man." When lighted, writes Hazlitt, "the persons to whom it is presented

118. *Ibid.*, 428 (14.3.8-9).

119. *Ibid.*, 428 (14.3.11-13).

120. *Ibid.*, 428 (14.3.14).

121. Doniger, *The Rig Veda*, 193 (note to 10.177.1).

122. Frazer, 147.

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will be deprived of all power of motion;"[123] the victims "could not stir any more than if they were dead." The practice is also recorded in the nineteenth-century in Belgium, England, and Ireland.[124] The use of other corpse-parts to cause the inhabitants of a house "to sleep a death-like sleep" appear even farther afield: dead man's bones in Peru and Slavonia, a candle made from human shin-bone or a flute made from human leg-bone in Ruthenia, and the "left fore-arm of a woman who had died in giving birth to her first child" in Mexico."[125]Adharmic magic is always popular as a means of getting something from others.

Even the *Arthaśāstra*'s use of baby parts is not unique; in continental Europe there was a folkloric belief that "the thief's candle should be made of the finger of a new-born or, still better, unborn child," which led to the ugly fact that would-be burglars "used to murder pregnant women in order thus to extract candles from their wombs."[126] The wizard of the *Arthaśāstra* may have likewise committed dark acts in order to get his dark materials - taking corpses from cremation grounds, stealing bodies of executed criminals, raiding the war dead from mass graves, and perhaps even murdering in order to obtain the needed bodies and body parts. The use of a dead newborn in black magic is, perhaps, the ultimate embrace of pollution by the wizard. According to Manu, "The pollution caused by a corpse affects all (co-feeding relatives), but (the pollution of) a birth affects the mother and father."[127] Being in contact with or near the dead causes one to become polluted, as does being connected to a birth - which was itself often a fatal event. The theft, dismemberment and magical use of a dead baby manages to combine birth-pollution and death-pollution with other crimes in a black cauldron of karmic darkness as it adharmically inverts the ceremony for the dead that is so central and sacred to Manu.

Everything discussed so far provides evidence that Kauṭilya did indeed believe

123. Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore*, 301.

124. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, 240-243.

125. Frazer, 148.

126. *Ibid.*, 149.

127. Doniger and Smith, 105 (5.62).

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in the efficacy of magic. Strangely, he simultaneously instructs the king to take cynical advantage of the belief in magic held by his enemies at home and abroad. A wide range of magic users and those posing as such are sent abroad to disable enemies and potential enemies by snaring them with false magic. The king dispatches "[d]iviners, soothsayers, and astrologers, working undercover"[128] or "agents acting undercover as thaumaturgic ascetics" and "diviners, soothsayers, astrologers."[129] Throughout the *Arthaśāstra*, the actual and fake wizards are utilized to draw out and punish those who the king sees as threats.

Some of the secret agents pretend to know the black magic detailed in the fourteenth book. In one of the most convoluted of Kauṭilya's plots for eradicating "thorns," the king is advised to employ "agents working undercover as thaumaturgic ascetics" to "entice criminals with magic skills for crime: bandits with a spell that induces sleep, makes one invisible, or opens doors; and adulterers with a love-inducing spell."[130] The complex plan requires the agents show the bandits how to use the spells, arrest them when they attempt to use the skills, then interrogate them about their previous crimes or parade them before the citizenry to prove the king's magical power as the Collector proclaims, "The king has learnt the magical lore for catching thieves. Under his direction, these thieves have been caught. I will catch others too. You should restrain your relatives who engage in criminal conduct."[131] The passage can be read in two ways: the agents teach real magical skills or the agents teach fake magical skills. Either way, this passage underscores the connection of the fourteenth book to the core of the work.

Another of Kauṭilya's schemes involving a pseudo-wizard entraps an enemy by inciting him to use black magic, then punishes him for using the same adharmic methods endorsed in the book on "esoteric practices":

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128. Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law*, 81 (1.13.23).

129. *Ibid.*, 231 (4.4.3).

130. *Ibid.*, 233 (4.5.1).

131. *Ibid.*, 233 (4.5.2-13).

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> ...an agent working undercover as a thaumaturgic ascetic, after he has enticed a traitorous man with magical lores, should say to him, "I know a rite that will secure inexhaustible wealth - *or* open doors, *or* capture a woman's heart, *or* strike an enemy with a disease, *or* secure long life, *or* produce a son." Once he is convinced, he should get him to make an offering with plenty of liquor, meat, and perfume during the night at the site of a sanctuary. And at that location, money consisting of a single coin should have been buried beforehand, where the limb of a corpse or a dead child had been planted. He should show the man the money from there, and tell him: "That is too little;" adding, "To get a lot of money, another offering must be made. So, tomorrow using this money, you yourself should buy a lot of material for the offering." He should be arrested in the act of purchasing the material for the offering using that money."[132]

The core of the entrapment is the enticement of the victim to commit a criminal act - digging up body parts and/or purchasing body parts æ that is itself required in the *Arthaśāstra*'s enumeration of magic rituals realized on the king's behalf. Perhaps Kauṭilya is not so far from Manu in his simultaneous condemnation of magic performed by the wrong people and endorsement of it performed by the right ones. Of course, Kauṭilya and Manu have radically different definitions of the wrong and right people.

Other instances in the *Arthaśāstra* are only slightly more straightforward in the employment of completely fraudulent witchcraft to delude and manipulate. Another of the king's agents "operating undercover as a thaumaturgic ascetic should win the confidence of a man fallen in love by providing him with love-inducing medications, then trick him by substituting poison, and run away."[133] This method is recurrently used in order to assassinate an enemy king; "[a]n agent posing as a diviner of underground objects,"[134] "an agent posing as a

132. *Ibid.*, 260 (5.2.59-63).

133. *Ibid.*, 391 (11.1.40).

134. *Ibid.*, 407-8 (13.2.6-12).

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thamaturgic ascetic,"[135] a fake soothsayer,[136] and "agents working undercover as soothsayers or astrologers"[137] are all used to deceive and attack an enemy king. The method used is exemplified by an agent who poses as "[a] shaven-headed or a matted-haired ascetic, saying that he lives in a mountain cave and is 400 years old." Kauṭilya instructs that he "should station himself in the vicinity of the [enemy] city, accompanied by a lot of matted-haired pupils." After establishing his (false) credentials, he lures the king out of the city with a promise of three boons, then launches "a surprise attack on him."[138] A similar hustle is used against entire forest tribes; "an agent posing as a shaven-headed or matted-haired ascetic devoted to god Saṃkarṣaṇa should outwit them with a drink mixed with coma-inducing juices at a festival. Thereupon, he should launch a surprise attack."[139]

Yet another agent using the same thaumaturgic ascetic disguise is advised to give spurious prophecies about "an impending boon from the king" which the king's Counselor then brings about - a somewhat costly move apparently intended to increase awe of and gratitude towards the king among his subjects.[140] The outlay of funds required by these various undercover schemes is, to some extent, balanced by the ersatz magic the king's Collector uses to increase the holdings of the royal treasury:

> ... having erected a divine shrine or a holy place of a theurgist at night, claiming it to have arisen spontaneously, he should make a living through pilgrimages and fairs. Or, he should publicize the advent of a divinity via a tree in a sanctuary grove bearing flowers and fruit out of season. Or, after disclosing the danger of a demon in a tree demanding a human being as a tax, agents working undercover as thaumaturgic ascetics should counteract it for the people of the city and the countryside in

135. *Ibid.*, 408 (13.2.13-19).

136. *Ibid.*, 409 (13.2.28).

137. *Ibid.*, 409 (13.2.33).

138. *Ibid.*, 407 (13.2.1-5).

139. *Ibid.*, 413 (13.5.54-5).

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> exchange for money... Or, he should replenish the treasury by counteracting [presumably manufactured] occult appearances.[141]

Despite this balancing of the ledger book, false magic is repeatedly recommended as a means of promoting the king to both his own subjects and those of his enemy. Kauṭilya recommends that the powers of the king

> should be broadcast throughout his territory by diviners, soothsayers, astrologers, chroniclers, fortune tellers, and clandestine operatives... And while dealing with questions to gods, omens, flight of crows, interpretation of limbs, dreams, and cries of animals and birds, they should predict victory for him and the opposite for the enemy; and they should point out to the accompaniment of drums a meteor in the constellation of the enemy.[142]

Already appearing matter-of-factly in early Roman descriptions of the Cimbri, the declaration of "a prophecy of victory for their own people" seems to have been a common propaganda practice long before the *Arthaśāstra*.[143] What can be said of the wizard as subject of practiced magic is transferable to the king as object of feigned magic; Mauss writes, "It is public opinion which makes the magician and creates the power he wields. Thanks to public opinion he knows everything and can do anything."[144] It is the job of the undercover agents to convince the people, the army, and the enemy that the king is all-seeing, all-wise, and all-powerful.

Kauṭilya expects the king to employ wizards actual and artificial, yet he also makes provisions for punishing and executing non-sanctioned magic users. If a secret agent "considers someone to be a wizard inducing love through incantations and root witchcraft [*mūlakarma*], or through cremation-ground rituals, a secret agent should tell him: 'I love that man's wife - or daughter-in-law or daughter.

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141. *Ibid.*, 259 (5.2.39-45).

142. *Ibid.*, 406 (13.1.7-10).

143. Strabo, *Geography*, 171.

144. Mauss, 40.

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Make it such that she loves me in return. And accept this money.' If he does so, he should be sent into exile as a love-inducing wizard. That also explains issues pertaining to those who are given to black magic and sorcery."[145] Kauṭilya appears to agree with Manu's outlawing of the type of root-magic for which the *Kāmasūtra* will give detailed instructions. However, like Manu, Kauṭilya equivocates and makes exceptions: "Whatever affliction a man causes another person through witchcraft or sorcery, the same should be inflicted on him. Love-inducing rites may be freely used on a disaffected wife, on a young woman by a man who wants to marry her, or on a husband by his wife. In other cases, when there is an injury, the punishment is the middle seizure fine."[146] While allowing men to use magic to force their way with unwilling women, the *Arthaśāstra* also leaves space exceptions for married women to use magic on their own husbands. However, the punishment for wizards who work magic without official sanction is harsh; the familiar "agent working undercover as a thaumaturgic ascetic" is instructed" to bring one who is given to black magic under his control by telling the man: 'You will obtain your wishes by eating one of the following possessing auspicious marks: monitor lizard, tortoise, crab, and an ox with broken horns.' Once he is convinced, he should kill him during the rite with poison or metal clubs, announcing, 'He was killed due to a mishap in the rite.'"[147] Who would question the black magician being done in by his own adharmic actions?

In the *Kāmasūtra*, Vātsyāyana advises the man of leisure to use magical means to gain power over women he desires. The use of magic is qualified, however, for other members of Vātsyāyana's putative audience such as the courtesan and the wife. Like the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Kāmasūtra* features an opening section and chapter-concluding verses that strike a dharmic pose, while the body of the text is profoundly adharmic in its liberation of sexuality from any Manu-like restraint of marriage or procreation and its endorsement of rather dark means of sexual conquest as ethics are regularly brushed aside in the pursuit of kāma. The male reader is offered strategies for convincing a married woman to

145. Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law*, 232 (4.4.14-16).

146. *Ibid.*, 251 (4.13.27-9).

147. *Ibid.*, 255 (5.1.33-34).

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commit adultery, yet Vātsyāyana avoids dealing with the fact that their successful application would put the woman into great personal danger at the hands of her cuckolded husband. In such an adharmic setting, magic is just one more tool to be used by a would-be lover to place a woman under his power. For the woman herself, the situation is more complicated.

The magic of the *Kāmasūtra* is personal and geared towards relationships between pairs of individuals. Rather than the social ritual of Manu or the political maneuvering of Kauṭilya, the magic of Vātsyāyana focuses on lower, domestic rites and constitutes what Grimm referred to more generally as "a kind of religion for all the lower kind of household wants."[148] The basic goal of magic used by a given man throughout the *Kāmasūtra* is to facilitate the consummation of his desire with a given woman, to make a resisting woman pliable or an unavailable woman accessible - to bring about what Mauss called, with respect to magic, "a change of state."[149] Earlier love-magic in India invokes gods and goddesses to effect this particular change. In the *Atharva Veda*, "Kāma, the god of love, is invoked by a man seeking to attract a woman," and "Anumati, goddess of favor and consent;Ākūti, goddess of plans and schemes; and Indrāṇi, the personification of marital bliss" are all called upon by a woman seeking a man's love.[150]

These deities are conspicuously absent in the *Kāmasūtra*. Vātsyāyana argues that "[p]eople should perform religious acts" because of the reality of magic: "sometimes, black magic and curses are seen to bear fruit; because the constellations, moon, sun, stars, and the circle of the planets are seen to act for the sake of the world as if they thought about it first."[151] Rather than gods and goddesses, the result of magic in the *Kāmasūtra* is effected by manipulating natural forces, exemplifying Frazer's idea that "homoeopathic magic seeks to turn to account... the great powers of nature, such as the waxing and the waning moon, the rising and the setting sun, the stars, and the sea."[152]

148. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 1106.

149. Mauss, 61.

150. Stutley, 53.

151. Vatsyayana, 10 (1.2.25).

152. Frazer, 165.

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On the whole, the *Kāmasūtra* lacks a sense that the concoction of its various potions necessitates what Tambiah calls "locutionary (referential, information-carrying)" speech-actions as in the earlier texts that deal with magic, the *Ṛg Veda* and the *Atharva Veda*. Instead, Vātsyāyana's "ritual acts and magical rites are of the 'illocutionary' or 'performative' sort, which simply by virtue of being enacted (under the appropriate conditions) achieve a change of state, or do something effective."[153] Given some of the recipes in the text, the need for verbal aspects of ritual is obviated. If a man mixes arsenic and sulphur with monkey feces and "scatter[s] the mixture over a virgin," it doesn't necessary require a magical hymn be added in order to insure that "she will not be given to another man"[154] (at least not on that night). For the most part, the *Kāmasūtra* simply gives lists of ingredients without any sense that the materials must be what Stutley calls "correctly 'stimulated' by established magico-religious ritual" in order to be effective.[155]

However, as with Kauṭilya, there is little doubt that Vātsyāyana believes in the efficacy of magic. The male lover is instructed to court and receive the woman he desires "at a time when fate, omens, bird signs, and overheard conversations are favourable."[156] Following the invisibility tradition of the earlier texts, the *Kāmasūtra* advises the man who would sneak into a harem to make his body and shadow "disappear by means of the magic trick of the 'pocket-no-pocket,'" which requires smearing his eyes with a concoction of typical magic ingredients (heart of mongoose, eyes of snake etc).[157] As in the works by Manu and Kauṭilya, the influence of the *Atharva Veda* is explicit; a list of various mixtures to make a person "lucky in love" concludes with suggestion to make an amulet "employing the methods of the *Atharva Veda*."[158] Perhaps the lack of verbal performance as part of magical ritual in the *Kāmasūtra* can be explained

153. Tambiah, 'Form and Meaning of Magical Acts,' 181.

154. Vatsyayana, 163 (7.1.30).

155. Stutley, 4.

156. Vatsyayana,, 76 (3.1.8).

157. *Ibid.*, 127-128 (5.6.24-5).

158. *Ibid.*, 161 (7.1.11).

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by assuming that Vātsyāyana's audience would be familiar with the earlier text and would turn to it for the necessary incantations.

Following the *Arthaśāstra*'s model, the *Kāmasūtra* includes a final section dedicated to instructions for magic. Other than a digression on courtesans raising their daughters, the seventh book focuses on means by which a man can assert his sexual power over women. It is addressed to the frustrated would-be lover and provides a matter-of-fact rationale for the use of magic: "a person who has not obtained the object of desire through the methods [the *Kāmasūtra*] describes may have recourse to these secret recipes."[159] Also following Kauṭilya, Vātsyāyana seems to have no dharmic squeamishness over corpse-pollution, although the recipe list is shorter and the magic less clearly connects the dead with insensibility; an ointment to make person "lucky in love" is "prepared in a human skull" and a powder for "putting someone in your power" includes "garlands left over from corpses."[160] In a brief reprise of Kaumilya's theme of using ersatz magic to entrap enemies, Vātsyāyana suggests a rake manipulate the affections of the object of his desire by having one of his friends disguise himself as a fortune-teller and tell the woman of "the man's future good luck and prosperity by interpreting the flights of birds, omens, the influence of the planets according to their positions in the zodiac, and the lucky marks on his body."[161] As in the earlier text, earnestly performed magical rituals stand cheek-by-jowl with fake rites designed to take advantage of the belief of others.

The seventh book's section on "Putting Someone in your Power" provides the clearest examples of magic used to assert men's sexual power over women. The many ways of controlling a woman include various types of phallomagical mixtures designed to internally override a woman's ability to deny consent. The instructions to "put your sexual partner in your power" include coating "your penis with an ointment made with powdered white thorn-apple, black pepper, and long pepper, mixed with honey" before coitus,[162] a recipe that seems it

159. *Ibid.*, 161 (7.1.2).

160. *Ibid.*, 161, 163 (7.1.5, 26).

161. *Ibid.*, 75 (3.1.6).

162. *Ibid.*, 163 (7.1.23).

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would have the opposite effect of the one intended. The goal of the monkey-feces ointment anointment mentioned above - that the virgin "will not be given to another man" - is likewise centered on controlling a woman as the man's personal property, will she or no.

The section describing "Stimulants for Virility" for a man to use provides a long list of mixtures that make him "as virile as a bull."[163] As if to answer the question whether this is really about magically exerting sexual power over women - as opposed to medically or chemically - the section's concluding poem states that "the techniques that compel love" can be learned "from the Veda," which the commentator Yashodhara states is the *Atharva Veda*, used by "qualified people... who are adept at the spells and can be trusted."[164] The section on "Methods of Increasing the Size of the Male Organ" may not seem magical at first blush, but it again echoes both the *Atharva Veda* and the *Arthaśāstra* with its instructions for creating ointments similar to those in the magical sections of both earlier texts.[165] The final section on "Unusual Techniques" is more overtly about the sexual control of women, offering instructions for sprinkling a woman with a powdered mixture that includes monkey feces (again) so that she "cannot desire any other man" and rubbing her vagina with an ointment that includes ants in order to break another man's attraction to her.[166]

Vātsyāyana suggests that women learn magic, but only certain women and certain magic. His list of "sixty-four fine arts that should be studied along with the *Kāmasūtra*" by the top-level courtesan includes "doing conjuring tricks; practising sorcery; sleight of hand" along with "knowledge of omens; alphabets for use in making magical diagrams."[167] The well-trained courtesan should be proficient in both wizardry and stage magic. The "only wife," however, should be concerned with *dharma* and leave magic well enough alone. The usually adharmic Vātsyāyana seems like a coy follower of Manu when he insists that the

163. *Ibid.*, 164-166 (7.1.36-48).

164. *Ibid.*, 166 (7.1.49 and note).

165. *Ibid.*, 169 (7.2.28-30).

166. *Ibid.*, 169-170 (7.2.32, 35).

167. *Ibid.*, 15 (1.3.15).

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married woman should not even "have a close relationship with any woman who is ... a fortune-teller, or a magician who uses love-sorcery worked with roots."[168] While the male reader is encouraged to act like a wizard, the wife is told not even to speak with one.

Although the *Kāmasūtra* may have sections that seem somewhat egalitarian regarding women's agency, the instructions for magic really go one way. Even if some elements of magical practice can be read as usable by a woman,[169] a female subject of magical ritual is never explicitly addressed. To the contrary, Vātsyāyana puts great emphasis on prohibiting most women from ever using magic - especially root-magic, the great bugaboo in *The Laws of Manu*. The ideal "only wife" does not "use love-sorcery worked with roots, for, Gonardiya says, 'Nothing destroys trust like that.'"[170] Despite this injunction, the use of plants for woman's magic already appears in the *Ṛg Veda*, in which a hymn against rival wives, as Doniger writes, "[i]s appropriately dedicated to Indrāṇi, wife of the notoriously womanizing Indra."[171] It opens with the line "I dig up this plant, the most powerful thing that grows, with which one drives out the rival wife and wins the husband entirely for oneself."[172] A "Charm to secure the love of a man" in the *Atharva Veda* has a similar beginning: "This potent herb do I dig out."[173] Both texts suggest the use of roots to work female magic. However, despite the wide range of its directions for men's sexual sorcery, the *Kāmasūtra*'s book on "Esoteric Erotica" includes no instructions for women's erotic magic.

Root-magic, like so much of the magic discussed above, appears to be based on homoeopathic principles. Vātsyāyana explains that the women of the harem "only have one husband shared by many women in common," so "they give pleasure to one another" and "relieve their desire with dildos or with bulbs,

168. *Ibid.*, 94 (4.1.9).

169. *Ibid.*, 210 (note to 7.2.33).

170. *Ibid.*, 95 (4.1.20-1).

171. Doniger, *The Rig Veda*, 289 (note to 10.145).

172. *Ibid.*, 289 (10.145.1).

173. Bloomfield, 103 (7.38.1).

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roots, or fruits that have that form."[174] The thirteenth-century commentator Yashodhara explains that "[t]hese things have a form just like the male sexual organ: the bulbs of arrowroot, plantain, and so forth; the roots of coconut palms, breadfruit, and so forth; and the fruits of the bottle-gourd, cucumber, and so forth."[175] In this context, the use of a root in magic ritual to exert control over a man's sexuality seems clearly imitative. The leek, for example, is "a vegetable associated with penises, lust and fertility in Germanic tradition"[176] that is referenced in the earliest magical runic amulets and was reportedly used in conjunction with a horse phallus as a cult object in Norway as late as the eleventh century.[177] If magical symbol systems do indeed, as Flowers argues, "share two fundamental aspects, 1) magic-analogous unity with the object of the symbol, and 2) the symbol is capable of manipulation through the agency of the human will,"[178] then the use of the root as a magical stand-in for the phallus of the target via an analogy of shape is understandably threatening to Vātsyāyana and his male readers, even if the threat is not as obvious as the *Atharva Veda*'s "Charm for depriving a man of his virility" which includes the memorable lines, "The two canals, fashioned by the gods, in which man's power rests, in thy testicles ... I break them with a club. As women break reeds for a mattress with a stone, thus do I break thy member."[179]

Perhaps it is this very castrating or penis-destroying element that gives root-magic its heft for the women who - despite authorial prohibition - make use of it. In what may be the darkest moment of the *Kāmasūtra*, Vātsyāyana writes of the situations in which various professional men "can win" women during the course of their work.

> A young village headman, or a king's officer, or the son of the superintendent of farming, can win village women with a word,

174. Vatsyayana, 125-6 (5.6.1-2).

175. *Ibid.*, 125 (note to 5.6.2).

176. MacLeod and Mees, *Runic Amulets and Magic Objects*, 43.

177. DuBois, "Rituals, witnesses, and sagas," 76.

178. Flowers, 19.

179. Bloomfield, 108-9 (6.138.4-5).

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> and then libertines call these women adulteresses. Sex with these women takes place when they are engaged in such activities as doing chores, filling granaries, bringing things in and out of houses, cleaning house, working in the field, purchasing cotton, wool, flax, linen and bark, spinning thread, and buying, selling, and exchanging goods. And in the same manner, the man in charge of the cow-herds may take the women of the cow-herds; the man in charge of threads may take widows, women who have no man to protect them, and wandering women ascetics; the city police chief may take the women who roam about begging, for he knows where they are vulnerable, because of his own night-roamings; and the man in charge of the market may take the women who buy and sell.[180]

"Can win" morphs into "may take" as the passage progresses, giving an ancient Indian snapshot of what we would now call *rape culture.* If the *Kāmasūtra* reflects actual social practices, what recourse was available to the women who were "won" and "taken"? Magical ritual may have provided a sense of power and active agency for the women who practiced it - and the great emphasis on forbidding root-magic in *The Laws of Manu* and the *Kāmasūtra* suggests that it was, indeed, practiced. Given (1) the violent ritual acts perpetrated on vegetables that evolved out of the vegetarian impulse within a religious practice that prioritized sacrifice as the core element[181] and (2) the *Atharva Veda* charm about smashing male genitalia, the idea of root-magic as a homoeopathic manipulation of the target male's manhood in a situation where a woman's ability to consent was actively suppressed seems both likely to have occurred and likely to have been psychologically satisfying. Such magic serves a social function in that, regardless of actual effectiveness, it is always successful in that it creates a certain psychological state.[182] Given the invisibility of women's magical practices in the

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180. Vatsyayana, 122 (5.1.7 10).

181. See for example Doniger, *On Hinduism*, 424.

182. Glucklich, 10.

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Kāmasūtra, we can only imagine that the forbidden root-magic gave its user the same sense of satisfaction as that experienced by "The Triumphant Wife" of the *Ṛg Veda*, who sings "I have triumphed over my husband" and "I may rule as empress over this hero and over the people."[183] The "one wife" of the *Kāmasūtra* is far too idealized to ever sing such a song.

Was any of the magic presented in our three texts actually practiced? Did people actually create and use any of these powders and potions, or is it all just weird fantasy? The three works do not offer hard evidence of historical practice, but instead are themselves pieces of evidence for cultural and intellectual history - of how a certain class of men in a certain time thought about magic. The amount of space devoted to forbidding and promoting the use of magic in each text suggests that it was greatly important as a cultural concept. If the magic described was never practiced, Manu would have no need to forbid it. If magic wasn't believed to have real power in the world, Kauṭilya's complicated schemes to take advantage of that belief would be simply nonsensical. If women never used root-magic, Vātsyāyana would have no reason to fear it so greatly. That all three texts take similarly complicated stances regarding magic suggests that it is something deeply embedded in and important to the culture of the era. Patrick Olivelle writes that the *Arthaśāstra*'s" description of the building of forts and fortifications is shown to be remarkably accurate when compared to the extant archeological evidence. If we can extrapolate from this to the accuracy of the accounts in other areas of expert knowledge, then it is certain that these sections must have been taken from expert textual or oral traditions in those areas."[184] If we accept this logic, then the *Arthaśāstra* - and likely the other two texts - do indeed represent a tradition of magic that was used to assert mystical, political, and sexual power. In the case of women's magic, it may also have been used to resist that same assertion - if only psychologically.

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183. Doniger, *The Rig Veda*, 290-1 (10.159).176. MacLeod and Mees, *Runic Amulets and Magic Objects*, 43.

184. Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law*, 7.

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DAṆḌIN'S *KĀVYĀDARŚA* IN TIBET AND MONGOLIA[1]

Magdalena Szpindler*

History of poetics in Tibet is intertwined with history of Buddhism and Tibetan literature. Creation of the Tibetan alphabet and grammar ascribed to a minister called Thon mi Saṃbhoṭa, the first historical ruler of Tibet, king Srong btsan sgam po (617-649/650) was certainly a crucial event for the origins of written literature. As for the conversion to Buddhism in the Tibetan realm, the import of an Indian Buddhist literary corpus, and the translation thereof into the Tibetan language, decesive processes to be considered here are the so-called "early disseminantion of the [Buddhist] teachings" (T. *bstan pa snga dar*) in Tibet, which took place in the eighth and ninth centuries, and the "subsequent dissemination of the [Buddhist] teachings" (T. *bstan pa phyi dar*) starting from the tenth century onwards.

During the early disseminantion of the Buddhist teachings, Tibetans undertook the enormous task of translating hundreds of sacred texts of the Buddhist canon, mainly from Sanskrit. Afterwards, despite the turmoil in the country's history, which hindered the process of translating, tremendous and arduous translatory work was continued in later centuries, during the later spread of the Buddhist teachings. Joint work of Tibetan and Indian scholars resulted in the Tibetan canonical corpus compiled at the end of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth century into two text collections known as Bka' 'gyur and Bstan 'gyur.[2] This laid

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* Adam Mickiewicz University, NAMO project, room no. 123 Św. Marcin 78, 61-809 Poznań Poland tel. no. +48 502 21 77 42; Email : m.szpindler@gmail.com

1. The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007-2013) / ERC Grant Agreement n. 615574.

2. Bka' 'gyur means literally "translation of [the Buddha's] word," and Bstan 'gyur

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the foundation for subsequent new editions of the canonical texts and further translatory works, and equally impressive achievements concerned with commentarial writings.[3]

Tibetans came under strong Indian cultural influence while they at the same time exerted such influence on others, for instance, on the Mongols. The Mongolian peoples initially came into contact with Buddhism via various Inner Asian peoples. Mongolia over its history periodically intensified the political and cultural relations with the neighboring Tibet. During the reign of Yuan dynasty in the thirteenth-fourteenth century, Tibetan Buddhism was recognized as an official, state religion. From this period survives but few manuscripts and xylographs of Buddhist texts translated into Mongolian from Uyghur, Tibetan, and Sanskrit languages.[4]

3. The process of the formation of the Buddhist canon was long-standing. The first known catalogues to the canonical works, such as the *Ldan dkar ma*, the *'Phang thang ma*, and the *Mchims phu ma*, date from the first half of the ninth century. Various canonical editions differed in regard to text editions, their sequence, and number of works. The most important canon editions include the Bka' 'gyur and the Bstan 'gyur from Co ne, Sde dge, and Snar thang; the Bka' 'gyur from Newark, Phug brag, Lhasa, Li thang, and Beijing; and the Bstan 'gyur from Dga' ldan (the so-called golden manuscript). For further information see: Eimer, Helmut ed., *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1997; Eimer, Helmut, and David Germano eds., *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism. Papers presented at the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in Leiden, 2000*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands 2002; Harrison, Paul, "A Brief History of the Tibetan Bka' 'gyur," in Roger Jackson, and José Cabezón eds., *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, Snow Lion, Ithaca, NY 1996, pp. 70-94. Skilling, Peter, "From bKa" bstan bcos to bKa" 'gyur and bsTan "gyur," in Eimer, Helmut ed., *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon*, Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 1997, pp. 87-111; Kapstein, Matthew, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2000; Schaeffer, Kurtis, *The Culture of the Book in Tibet*, Columbia University Press, New York 2009.

4. Beckwith, Christopher I.,"Tibetan science at the court of the great khans," *The Journal of Tibet Society*, Volume 7, 1987.

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The next stage of increased interest in Buddhist literature, including above all the canonical literature, were the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries. The Mongols became acquainted with it in Tibetan, a language that was granted the status of lingua franca, similar to Latin in medieval Europe. Tibetan monks continued the work of the propagation of Buddhism in Mongolia and thus went as a go-between in the transmission of Indian culture to Mongolia. Prominent Mongolian Buddhist scholars had studied the Tibetan language (a few had also studied Sanskrit) to read the canonical books. The most important task before which they stood was to translate the Tibetan canon for the future generations of monks and followers of Buddhism. The Bka' 'gyur was translated into Mongolian during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, originally under the supervision of Širegetü Güsi Èorǰi and subsequently under the supervision of Kun dga' od zer. As for the Bstan 'gyur, its major part was translated in the seventeenth century, with the exception of a few texts that had previously been translated into Mongolian from various languages already during the first propagation of Buddhism in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.[5] The printing of these translations was completed in the eighteenth century. In the same century, the Bstan 'gyur amounting to 226 volumes had been translated by approximately two hundred monks within a period of about seven years under the supervision of Lcang skya Khutukhta Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786) and Blo bzang bstan pa'i nyi ma (1782-1853).[6]

5. For more on this topic, see: Heissig, Walther, *Beiträge zur Übersetzungsgeschichte des mongolischen buddhistischen Kanons*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr. 50, Göttingen 1962; Tsendin, Damdinsuren, *Mongolyn uran zohiolyn tojm*, 2 devteer (XVII-XVIII zuuny üe), Shinzhleeh uhaany akademijn hevlev, Ulaanbaatar 1976, p. 385.; Kollmar-Paulenz, Karénina. "The Transmission of the Mongolian Kanjur: A Preliminary Report," in Helmut Eimer and David Germano eds., *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in Leiden, 2000*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands 2002, pp. 151-176; Grönbold, Günter, Stephan, Renate; Szabó, Danko eds., *Die Worte des Buddha in den Sprachen der Welt (The words of the Buddha in the languages of the world: Tipiṭaka, Tripiṭaka, Dazangijng, Kanjur)*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München 2005, p. 114.

6. Cendin, Damdinsuren, *Mongolyn uran zohiolyn tojm*, 2 devteer (XVII-XVIII zuuny üe), Shinzhleeh uhaany akademijn hevlev, Ulaanbaatar 1976, p. 385.

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Tibetans and later Mongolians included in this corpus of Buddhist canonical texts various selected works on topics seemingly unrelated to the religious literary corpus, e.g., poems belonging to Sanskrit *kāvya* and one of the best-known treatises on *kāvya* theory, namely, the seventh-century treatise *Kāvyādarśa*, *The Mirror of Kāvya*, written by Daṇḍin. The *Kāvyādarśa* was first translated into Tibetan and later on also translated into Mongolian. Since the time of the *Kāvyādarśa*'s inception in India, there appeared a number of handwritten editions. Tibetan scholars did not have access to all of them, but over time they gained access to different recensions of the text. Influenced by newly found Sanskrit manuscripts and commentaries, Tibetan scholars gradually changed and improved the early Tibetan translation of *The Mirror of Kāvya*. It became the most important source of knowledge about poetics in Tibet and Mongolia, a treatise which lived to see many commentaries written by both Tibetan and Mongolian writers. Along with Daṇḍin's treatise, selected Sanskrit *kāvya* works were also translated into Tibetan and Mongolian, and were recognized as canonical texts in their own right, inspiring many generations of native writers. Likewise, other works on prosody, lexicography, or grammar attracted Tibetan and Mongolian monk scholars who sought to enrich their knowledge and in an Indian fashion they considered these texts as being equally important for the development of poetics.

The name of *Kāvyādarśa*'s author, Daṇḍin, was variously left untranslated, transcribed, or at times also given in translation, namely in Tibetan rendered as Byug ba can and in Mongolian as Beriyetü (modern Mong. Bereet bagsh), meaning the same in both languages, namely "[A person] with a staff." The title of the treatise was translated into Tibetan as *Snyan ngag me long* and into Mongolian as *okistu ayalγu-yin toli*. As regards the second part of the title (*ādarśa*) meaning a "mirror," this word did not present any difficulties for the Tibetan and Mongolian translators, in contrast to the first part of the title, i.e., *kāvya*. In this case, the translation meant transfering a foreign cultural phenomena to a new field in terms of language and literary expression. *Kāvya*, primarily meaning a composition "endowed with qualities of a sage or poet, descending from a sage, prophetic, inspired, poetical,"[7] later on, especially in English speaking world, became

7. Williams, Monier, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, 2008 revision, http://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de/monier/, accessed June 28th, 2017.

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identified with specific terms such as "court poetry" or "ornate poetry," in both cases meaning an elegant, beautiful, charming, and out-of-the-ordinary poetic expression. And exactly this meaning was grasped by Tibetan and Mongolian translators, giving its respective translation of *kāvya* as *snyan ngag* in Tibetan and *Jokistu ayalyu* in Mongolian, meaning a speech that is pleasant, melodious, ear-pleasing, and sweet sounding.

Traditionally, Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251) is considered the person who introduced the *Kāvyādarśa* to Tibetan readers. He was one of the most prominent Buddhist hierarchs in Tibet's history and an exponent of one of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions, namely the *lam 'bras* teachings of the Sa skya school.[8] His most important teacher was the Kashmirian Śākyaśrībhadra (1140?-1225), but he also studied under several other Indian scholars, such as Saṁghaśrī, Dānaśīla, and Sugataśī. He not only studied topics strictly related to Buddhist doctrine, such as the logic and epistemology of Dharmakīrti, but he also studied and gained expertise in other fields of knowledge, like *kāvya* and *alaṅkāra*. He translated, by himself or in cooperation with his Indian teachers, such writings as the *Pramānavārttika* of Dharmakīrti, the

8. *Lam 'bras*, lit. "path and result," is a "central tantric system of the SA SKYA sect of Tibetan Buddhism, derived from the HEVAJRATANTRA and transmitted to Tibet by 'BROG MI SHKYA YE SHES. The system was first set down in written form by the the first of the five Sa skya hierarchs [Tib. *gong ma lnga*], SA CHEN KUN DGA' SNYING PO of the aritocratic 'Khon family." Sa skya Paṇḍita was the fourth of these patriarchs and the grandson of Sa chen kun dga' snying po (1092-1158). See: Buswell Jr., Robert E. and Donald S. Lopez Jr. eds., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, Princeton University Press 2013, p. 464. See also *Taking the Path as the Result: Core Teachings of the Sakya Lamdre Tradition*, translated by Cyrus Stearns, Wisdom Publications, Boston 2006. Concerning the life of Sakya Paṇḍita, his writings, their reception, and his times see: Stearns, Cyrus, *Luminous Lives: The Story of the Early Masters of the Lam 'bras Tradition in Tibet*, Wisdom Publications, Boston 2001; Jackson, David, "Commentaries on the Writings of Sa Skya Paṇḍita: A Bibliographical Sketch," *The Tibet Journal* Vol. VIII, no 3, 1983; Davidson, Ronald M., *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*, Columbia University Press, New York 2005.

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Pramānavārttikaṭīkā of Śaṃkaranandana, the *Samkṣiptapraṇidhāna* of Candragomin, and partially the *Amarakośa* of Amarasiṃha.[9] His studies and expertise in specialised translations were reflected in his later literary creativity, amounting to over a hundred works. Among these, there are such well-known writings as: *Entrance Gate for the Wise* (T. *Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo*),[10] *Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels* (T. *Legs par bshad pa rin po cheāi gter*),[11] *Treasury of Epistemology* (T. *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*),[12] *Clarifying the Sage's Intention* (T. *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal*),[13] *A Clear Differentiation of Three Codes* (T. *Sdom gsum rab dbye*).[14]

The *Entrance Gate for the Wise*, written around 1220 to 1230, contains

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9. Chandra, Lokesh, *The Amarakoṣa in Tibet: being a new Tibetan version by the great grammarian Si-tu*, International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi 1965.

10. Jackson, David, *The Entrance Gate to the Wise (Section III): Sa-skya Paṇḍita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions of Pramāṇa and Philosophical Debate*, Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Vienna 1987; Gold, Jonathan, *The Dharma's Gatekeepers: Sakya Paṇḍita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet*, State University of New York Press, Albany 2008.

11. *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels: The Subhāṣitaratnanidhi of Sa Skya Paṇḍita in Tibetan and Mongolian*, translated by James E. Bosson, Uralic and Altaic Series vol. 92, Indiana University Publications, Bloomington 1969.

12. See Van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J., *Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century*, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Weisbaden 1983.

13. See the English translation by David P. Jackson, in: Dölpa, Gampopa, and Sakya *Paṇḍita, Stages of the Buddha's Teachings: Three Key Texts*, translated by Ulrike Roesler, Ken Holmes, and David P. Jackson, The Library of Tibetan Classics, Wisdom Publications, Somerville 2015.

14. *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes: Essential Distinctions among the Individual Liberation, Great Vehicle, and Tantric Systems*, translated by Jared Rhoton, SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies, New York 2002.

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large passages of the first and second chapter (*pariccheda*) of the *Kāvyādarśa.*[15] Sa skya Paṇḍita together with his nephew 'Phags pa bla ma Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280), who continued his work, laid foundations and oriented the studies on *kāvya.* Together, they made a selection of Sanskrit literary works which were subsequently used in Tibet, thereby influencing other scholars in their studies on, among others, Sanskrit poetics. One such person was another famous scholar, Shong lo tsā ba Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (13th century). Receiving patronage from his teacher, who was none the other than 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan, Shong lo tsā ba travelled to Nepal, where he for five years studied the five minor fields of knowledge. Afterwards, he headed to India, where he met the Indian Paṇḍita Lakṣmīkara (13th century). He invited Lakṣmīkara to Tibet and together they made a full Tibetan translation of the *Kāvyādarśa.* Moreover, they translated the lexicon *Amarakośa* (*'Chi med bzod*), a treatise on prosody the *Vṛttamālāstuti* by Jñānaśrīmitra,[16] a play *Nāgānanda* (*Klu kun tu dga' ba'i zlos gar*) by Harṣa (7th century), the *Avadānakalpalatā* (T. *Rtogs brjod dpag bsam 'khri shing gi rtsa 'grel)* by Kṣemendra (11th century).[17] Shong ston is also said to have been the first Tibetan commentator on the *Mirror of Kāvya.* The treatise, titled *A commentary to the "Mirror of Kāvya:" an Ornament for*

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15. There is an extensive commentary to it authored by Glo bo mkhan chen Bsod nams lhun grub in 1527, entitled *Mkhas pa (rnams) 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed* (*Mkhas 'jug rnam bshad*) (modern edition by Ngagwang Topgay, New Delhi 1980). In the part concerned with poetics, Glo bo mkhan chen quotes Mkhan po Kha che Pan chen, Dpang lo Blo gros brtan pa, Snar thang Lo tsā ba Saṃghaśri, and Sa bzang lo tsā ba. Another known commentary is *Mkhas pa 'jug sgo'i dgongs pa spyi'i ngag gis bstan pa legs bshad nor bu'i phreng mdzes* by Ngag dbang chos grags (1592-1641). See: Jackson, David P., "Commentaries on the Writings of Sa Skya Paṇḍita: A Bibliographical Sketch," *The Tibet Journal* Vol. VIII, no 3, 1983.

16. This eulogy to Mañjuśrī, being an illustration of different Sanskrit meters preserved only in its Tibetan translation, was researched by Michael Hahn. See: Hahn, Michael, *Jñānaśrīmitra's Vṛttamālāstuti,* Asitische Forschungen, Wiesbaden 1971.

17. For further information see: Smith, E. Gene, *Among Tibetan Texts. History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau,* Wisdom Publications, Boston 2001, p. 205.

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Sarasvatī's Neck (T. *Snyan ngag me long gi 'grel pa dbyangs can mgul rgyan*), gained great respect and became a source of knowledge for future generations of scholars and poets. Shong lo tsā ba's chief disciple was his nephew Shong lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (dates unknown), whose chief disciple was Mchog ldan legs pa'i blo gros (dates unknown, also taught by 'Phags pa bla ma). Then, the latter's chief disciple, to whom he taught *alaṅkāra*, was Dpang Lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342). His many students included the famous Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364).

Dpang lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342), another scholar of great format who - like a number of other learned Tibetans - was fluent in Sanskrit, went to Nepal to acquire knowledge in various fields and studied the *Kāvyādarśa* when he was nineteen years old.[18] He was the first editor who introduced corrections to the translation done by Shong lo tsā ba. The text with his amendments was included in the Bstan 'gyur editions from Dga' ldan and Beijing (1724) and Snar thang (14th century, 1742). In his authoritative commentary on the *Kāvyādarśa*, widely known under the short title *Dpang ṭīkā* (first half of the 14th century), he recorded differences with Shong lo tsa ba's translation and his own improvements thereto in the form of notes. In his research on the Indian treatise on poetics, he based himself on the commentary by Ratnaśrījñāna (to which he does not admit) as well as on the commentary by Vāgīśvara(kīrti).[19] Dpang ston and Bu ston were among the chief teachers of Lo chen Byang chub rtse mo (1303-1380). Together with his Kashmirian teacher Snyan ngag mkhan Su man śrī and his Tibetan student Nam mkha' bzang po (14th century), Lo chen translated the *Meghadūta* (T. *Sprin gyi pho nya*) by Kālidāsa. He revised, together with Nam mkha' bzang po, the *Chandoratnākara* (T. *Sdeb sbyor rin chen 'byung gnas*) previously translated by Yar lung lo tsā ba Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1242-1346), and he translated the *Amarakośa* lexicon (T. *'Chi med bzod*).

18. Samten, Muge, *A History of Traditional Fields of Learning. A Concise History of Dissemination of Traditional Fields of Learning in Tibet*, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, New Delhi 2005, p. 47.

19. For more on the topic, see Van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J., "Bhāmaha in Tibet," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Springer Volume 28, Number 1 / January, 1986, pp. 31-39.

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Bo dong Paṇ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1376–1451),[20] the founder of the Bo dong school,[21] in his famous encyclopaedia entitled *De nyid 'dus pa*, undertook an attempt to comment on all the important works translated into Tibetan.[22] He was valued for his knowledge of *alaṅkāraśāstra*[23] and *kāvya* poems. His student was the first Dalai Lama Dge 'dun grub pa (1391–1474), who was the author of many Tibetan eulogies (*bstod pa*). Another teacher of the first Dalai Lama, from whom he heard the *Kāvyādarśa* and the *Amarakośa*[24] was Snar thang lo tsā ba Dge 'dun dpal (born in the late 14th century), alias Saṃghaśrī. He was the author of the second 1408 edition of the *Kāvyādarśa* translation, which was included in the 18th century Bstan 'gyur editions from Sde dge and Co ne. He was respected for his poetic compositions and a *Comprehensive Commentary on the "Kāvyādarśa"* (*Snyan ngag me long gi rgya cher 'grel pa*). A student of Tsong kha pa (1357–1419), the founder of Dge lugs pa school of Tibetan Buddhism, and also a student of Bo dong Paṇ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal was the First Paṇ chen Lama Mkhas grub rje Dge legs dpal bzang (1385–1438), known as an author of praise poems. His student was Zhang zhung Chos dbang grags pa (1404–1469), likewise the author of several famous eulogies written in

20. He was the grand nephew of Dpang Lo chen Blo gros brtan pa. His mother was the daughter of the younger brother of Lo chen Byang chub rtse mo. See: https://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=P2627, accessed February 21st, 2017.

21. On the Bo dong school, see: Smith, E. Gene, *Among Tibetan Texts. History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, Wisdom Publications, Boston 2001, pp. 180, 181.

22. Smith, E. Gene, *Among Tibetan Texts. History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, Wisdom Publications, Boston 2001, p. 210.

23. He wrote a commentary to the *Kāvyādarśa* entitled *Grub pa'i slob dpon dpal dbyangs can dga' ba'i zhabs kyis mdzad pa'i snyan ngag gi bstan bcos yid kyi shing rta*, see: *Kāvya texts from Bhutan*, published by Kunzang Topgay in Thimphu, Bhutan 1976.

24. *Saṅs-rGyas rGya-mTSHo. Life of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, translated by Ahmad Zahiruddin, Vol. IV, Part 1, Śata-piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, Vol. 392, New Delhi 1999, p. 198.

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snyan ngag style. He was interested in the *Rāmayaṇa*, composed a treatise on it (T. *Rā ma ṇa'i rtogs brjod*), and devoted one of his eulogies to it, entitling it: *A Kāvyaśāstra Composed on the Basis of the Story of King Rāma: A Melodious Sound of Vīṇās [Played by] the Gandharva Maidens* (*Rgyal po chen po ra ma na'i gtam rgyud las brtsams pa'i snyan ngag gi bstan bcos dri za'i bu mo'i rgyud mang gi sgra dbyangs*, 1438).[25]

Some time later, around the mid-15th century, Snye thang lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa and later on the great translator Zhwa lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441–1527/1528) continued editorial work on the Tibetan *Kāvyādarśa* translation, introducing new corrections to it. Moreover, Zhwa lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po also edited the Tibetan translation of the *Chandoratnākara* by Ratnākaraśānti, revised the Tibetan translation of the *Amarakośa* and prepared a new bilingual edition, produced a new translation of the *Kāmadhenu* commentary on the *Amarakośa*,[26] and composed a verse-exemplification (*dper brjod*) for the *Kāvyādarśa*. His disciple Dpal khang lo tsā ba Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho (15th/16th century), the author of the well-known work on grammar entitled *Dag yig ngag sgron*, wrote an exemplification to the *Kāvyādarśa*.[27] Another monk scholar, whose interests encompassed philological studies and who was valued for his work on *snyan ngag*, was Rin spungs sa skyong Ngag dbang 'jigs med grags pa (born 1482/1542).[28]

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25. See *Kāvya texts from Bhutan*, published by Kunzang Topgay in Thimphu, Bhutan 1976, pp. 569–596.

26. Smith, E. Gene, *Among Tibetan Texts. History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, Wisdom Publications, Boston 2001, p. 204

27. Published in 1543, *Snyan ngag le'u gsum gyi dper brjod*, see *Mkhas dbang Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las mchog gis mdzad pa'i Bod rig pa'i tshig mdzod chen mo shes bya rab gsal*, Krung go'i Bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, Mtsho sngon Zhing chen Zhin hwa dpe tshong khang gis bkram, Pe cin 2002, p. 2322).

28. One of his commentaries is entitled *Snyan ngag me long gi rgya cher 'grel pa mi 'jigs pa seng ge'i rgyud kyi nga ro'i dbyangs*, see: https://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=W23560, accessed July 4th, 2017.

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Padma dkar po (1527-1592), the author of the famous 1575 history of the 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud school (*'Brug pa'i chos 'byung*), wrote an extensive commentary to the first chapter of the *Kāvyādarśa* and was also highly regarded as an author of *snyan ngag* poetry. Gene E. Smith called him a renaissance man and compared his vast knowledge to the Fifth Dalai Lama's scholarship.[29] One of his students was Sangs rgyas rdo rje (1569-1645), and Sangs rgyas rdo rje's student was the famous 'Brug pa bka' rgyud teacher Bod mkhas pa Mi pham dge legs rnam rgyal (1618-1685), one of the most prolific masters of *kāvya* studies, who wrote several treatises, letters, exemplifications, etc., on the *Kāvyādarśa* and on *snyan ngag* in general.[30]

A contemporary of Padma dkar po was Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1596) from the Sa skya school, who likewise authored a commentary to the *Kāvyādarśa*. In religious terms, he was known as a critic of the *Mahāmudrā* meditation teachings promulgated by Padma dkar po.

At almost the same time as Bod mkhas pa Mi pham dge legs rnam rgyal, the Fifth Dalai Lama Blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682) lived and worked. The Dalai Lama, the highest hierarch in Dge lugs school, was also known for his broad knowledge and for his interest in poetics. He wrote an extensive commentary to the *Kāvyādarśa* around the middle of the 17th century, which gained fame and popularity throughout Tibet and Mongolia. He is perceived as the founder of one of the poetic traditions of Tibet.[31] His students, such as Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, Kun mkhyen 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (1648/1678-1721/1722), and the Second (Fifth) Paṇ chen bla ma Blo bzang ye shes (1663-1737), all wrote commentaries to the *Kāvyādarśa*. Nam mkha' sengge (1712-1780), again an author interested in various topics concerned with language (he also wrote on Tibetan grammar), commented upon the Fifth Dalai Lama's commentary to the

29. Smith, E. Gene, *Among Tibetan Texts. History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, Wisdom Publications, Boston 2001, p. 82.

30 See *Kāvya texts from Bhutan*, published by Kunzang Topgay in Thimphu, Bhutan 1976; https://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=P1043, accessed July 4th, 2017.

31. Smith, E. Gene, *Among Tibetan Texts. History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, Wisdom Publications, Boston 2001, p. 124.

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Kāvyādarśa.

The 17th century is considered also the time of the origin of poetics in Mongolia. Similar to the Tibetan monk scholars, the Mongolian Buddhist learned masters read the *Kāvyādarśa*, translated it into Mongolian (since it was a Tibetan canonical text, it was also included in the Mongolia Buddhist canon), and studied the Tibetan commentaries on the text. They carried out these studies in Tibetan monasteries and later on also in Mongolia itself. They wrote their own commentaries to the text, along with poetic exemplifications and poetry in *snyan ngag* style. Traditionally, it is the fourth Rje btsun dam pa Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1635-1723) alias Zanabazar who is considered as the founder of the tradition of poetics in Mongolia. He was the highest ranked Mongolian Buddhist hierarch, a polititian, and an accomplished artist. His teachers included Dka' chen Nam mkha' bsod nams grags pa and a teacher of the Fifth Dalai Lama, namely the first (fourth) Paṇ chen bla ma Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1570-1662). He studied the 7th-century Indian treatise by Daṇḍin in its Tibetan translation, commented on it, and wrote his own poetry according to its rules.

His disciple, Khalkha translator Dge legs rgyal mtshan translated the *Kāvyādarśa* into Mongolian in the 18th century. Another student of Zanabazar named Khalkha Dza ya paṇḍi ta Blo bzang 'phrin las (1642/43-1708/1715) spent many years in Tibet, received monastic vows from the fifth Dalai Lama, and studied the Dalai bla ma's commentary to the *Kāvyādarśa*. He then wrote one of the first Mongolians commentaries to the Indian treatise.

He was followed by other scholars, such as Dai guush Agvandampil (1700-1780), the third Mergen Gegen Luvsan dambi jaltsan (1717-1766), and ùzemchin the well-known lexicographer Mgon po skyabs. The latter was said to know, beside Mongolian and Tibetan, Chinese and Sanskrit languages. One of his biggest achievements was a history of Buddhism in China (T. *Rgya nag chos 'byung*). Another famous historian interested in poetics was the Oirat scholar Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704-1776/1788), who authored a commentary on the *Kāvyādarśa* dated 1735. Mongolian monks continued studying poetics in the following centuries, for example the well-known Mongolian philosopher and linguist Ngag dbang bstan dar (1758/9-1831/42).

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In the 18th century, the Tibetan interest in Sanskrit studies was revived due to the scholarly activities by the Kar ma kaṃ tshang scholar the eight Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi byung gnas (1699/1700-1774/6), seated in Dpal spungs monastery in Kham, which was famous for its school of philosophy. Si tu Paṇ chen belonged to the group of the last great translators, who returned to Sanskrit original sources. This great grammarian promoted Tibetan literature in Eastern Tibet.[32] He spent many years of his life revising Tibetan translations of Sanskrit treatises on grammar, lexicography, etc., which constituted the basis for Tibetan philological studies. Among others, he authored a bilingual edition of the *Kāvyādarśa* and wrote at the beginning of 1770s an important commentary to it. He also edited the Bka' 'bgyur edition from Sde dge. Moreover, he was a highly regarded physician and a teacher of medicine, he was interested in Chinese astronomy and astrology, and was a renowned painter.[33] He exerted influence on the scholarly environment of Tibet for years, educating other extraordinary scholars, such as the fourth Khams sprul Bstan 'dzin chos kyi nyi ma (1730-1779/1780) who hailed from the A mdo region and Kun gzigs Chos kyi snang ba (1768-1822), a hierarch of the 'Brug pa bka' rgyud school and the author of an illustration of poetics entitled *An Exemplification of the Ornaments of Meaning from the Second Chapter of the Mirror of Kāvya* (T. *Snyan ngag me long le'u gnyis pa don rgyan gyi dper brjod ngag gi tambu ra*). The fourth Khams sprul, in turn, is known as an author of the most comprehensive Tibetan commentary to Daṇḍin's work composed in 1770: *The Mirror of Alaṅkāraśāstra, Fashioned as An Elucidation of Paṇ chen Bla ma's Teachings, Lakes of Word Play of Sarasvatī, Source of Jewels of Elegant Teachings* (T. *Rgyan gyi bstan bcos me long paṇ chen bla ma'i gsung bzhin bkral ba dbyangs can ngag gi rol mtsho legs bshad nor bu'i byung khungs bya ba*). Both, Si tu and Khams sprul went back to the original Sanskrit text and

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32. Kapstein, Matthew, "The Indian Literary Identity in Tibet," in Sheldon Pollock ed., *Literary Cultures in History: Perspectives from South Asia*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2003, p. 783.

33. Smith, E. Gene, *Among Tibetan Texts. History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, Wisdom Publications, Boston 2001, p. 90-93.

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commentaries by Ratnaśrījóāna and Vāgīśvara(kīrti),[34] as well as to the commentaries by the earlier Tibetan scholars.

Among the important masters of *snyan ngag*, it is worth mentioning a teacher from the Sa skya school in Khams, the great Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (1697-1774). He was the editor of the 1744 Bstan 'gyur edition from Sde dge and the author of its catalogue (T. *dkar chag*), which is regarded as one of the best canonical catalogues. He gained fame also due to his mastery of poetics and grammar. One of his disciples, Zhe chen Drung yig Bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan (18th century), who is mostly known for his Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon and grammar entitled shortly *Prajóā* or *Bilingual Terminology in Well-Composed Divine Language and [the Language] of the Land of Snow, A Mirror of Stainless Jewels* (T. *Legs par sbyar ba lha'i skad dang gangs can pa'i brda' shan sbyar ba dri bral nor bu'i me long*),[35] was considered an expert in *snyan ngag* poetry as well.

Smin gling Lo chen Dharma shrī (1654-1717/18) was the author of a commentary to the *Kāvyādarśa*. Moreover, he was a teacher of the famous Tibetan nobleman and politician Rdo mkhar zhabs drung Tshe ring dbang rgyal (1697-1763), an erudite poet, the author of a Sanskrit dictionary, and author of what is probably the only Tibetan novel written in *snyan ngag* style, entitled *The Tale of the Incomparable Prince* (T. *Gzhon nu zla med kyi gtam rgyud*).[36] Tshe ring dbang rgyal studied under Dharmaśrī together with the temporary ruler of Tibet (1728-1747), Pho lha nas Bsod nams stobs rgyas (1728-1747). They both supported literary studies, for example, by rebuilding two important Rnying ma

34. Van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J., "Bhāmaha in Tibet," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Springer Vol. 28, Number 1, January, 1986, p. 32; Smith E. Gene, *Among Tibetan Texts. History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, Wisdom Publications, Boston 2001, p. 88.

35. Smith, E. Gene, *Among Tibetan Texts. History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, Wisdom Publications, Boston 2001, pp. 89-90.

36. Solomon, Beth Ellen, *The Tale of the Incomparable Prince: A Study and Translation of the Tibetan Novel Gzhon nu zla med kyi gtam rgyud by Mdo mkhar zhabs drung Tshe ring dbang rgyal (1697-1763)*, PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison 1987.

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centres for the history of poetics (and for *gter ma* studies), namely Smin grol gling and Rdo rje brag monasteries. Pho lha nas was also one of the sponsors of the Snar thang edition of the Buddhist canon.[37]

The Tibetan tradition of poetics and *snyan ngag* poetry continued throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, and it is still a topic of interest among Tibetans today. Just to mention some of the 19th-century exponents, the following scholars and poets may be mentioned: A kya yongs 'dzin Dbyangs can dga' ba'i blo gros (1740-1827), the eighth Paṇ chen bla ma Bstan pa'i dbang phyug (1854/55-1882), Karma tshe dbang dpal 'bar, Gung thang pa Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me (1762-1823), Dharmabhadra (1772-1851), U rge mkhan po Stobs ldan rab 'byams (born 1813), A khyung ngag dbang mkhyen rab, Lab skyabs mgon Blo bzang bstan pa chos 'phel, and Ngag dbang ye shes thub bstan. Moreover, O rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po (1808-1887) and 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820-1892), who were both prolific authors in their own right and students of various kinds of poetry and poetics, were the teachers of Mi pham Rnam rgyal rgya mtsho (1846-1912), a scholar, writer, and poet who stood out due to the great breadth of his scholarship. Mi pham became well-known for his aphoristic poetry, which originated from the *nītiśāstra*,[38] and for his commentary to Daṇḍin's work.

The tradition of *Kāvyādarśa* and *snyan ngag* in Tibet, and later on also in Mongolia, is long and rich. Commentaries to Daṇḍin's work are waiting to be studied and translated from Tibetan, and, in fact, very little has been done in this regard in modern academia. There are many questions still to be answered. Some of the oldest examples of the *snyan ngag* style are said to be two verse eulogies written by two disciples of the Indian master Atiśa (972/982-1054),

37. Solomon, Beth Ellen, "*The Tale of the Incomparable Prince*: A Study and Translation of the Tibetan Novel *Gzhon nu zla med kyi gtam rgyud* by Mdo mkhar zhabs drung Tshe ring dbang rgyal (1697-1763)," PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison 1987, p. 45.

38. Mi pham rnam rgyal rgya mtsho, *Rgyal po lugs kyi bstan bcos*, Bod ljongs mi dmags dpe skrun khang 1983; after Kapstein, Matthew, "The Indian Literary Identity in Tibet," in Sheldon Pollock ed., *Literary Cultures in History: Perspectives from South Asia*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2003, p. 783.

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who founded the Tibetan Bka' gdams shool: 'Brom ston Rgyal ba 'byung gnas (1004-1064) and Nag 'tsho lo tsā ba Tshul khrims rgyal ba (1011-1064).[39] Chos kyi 'od zer (Mong. Nom un gerel, 13-14th century), a Sa skya monk, is treated as one of the earliest Mongol poets, who wrote long devotional poetry in Mongolian. Together with another translator, Shes rab seng ge (13-14th century), they were familiar with Indian literature and might have been familiar with Daṇḍin's theories as well.[40]

Due to the research and publications by Dragomir Dimitrov, much more is now known with regard to the Tibetan translation of the *Kāvyādarśa* and its history of transmission.[41] However, far less has become known and published in

39. Tucci, Giuseppe, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Rinsen Book Co. LTD, Kyoto 1980, p. 97, after Solomon, Beth Ellen, "*The Tale of the Incomparable Prince*: A Study and Translation of the Tibetan Novel *Gzhon nu zla med kyi gtam rgyud* by Mdo mkhar zhabs drung Tshe ring dbang rgyal (1697-1763)," PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison 1987: 15, fn. 20 48.

40. See Poppe, Nikolai Nikolaevich, *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha. A Mongolian Version of the Lalitavistara. Mongolian Text, Notes, and English Translation*, Asiatische Forschungen, Band 23, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 12-13.

41. Dimitrov, Dragomir, *Mārgavibhāga - Die Unterscheidung der Stilarten. Kritische Ausgabe des ersten Kapitels von Daṇḍins Poetik Kāvyādarśa und der tibetischen Übertragung Sñan ṅag me loṅ nebst einer deutschen Übersetzung des Sanskrittextes. Herausgegeben nach nepalesischen Handschriften des Sanskrittextes und der kanonischen und außerkanonischen tibetischen Überlieferung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der älteren Kommentarliteratur, samt Glossaren, ausführlichen Bibliographien, Konkordanzen und Indizes*, Indica et Tibetica, 40, Marburg 2002. And further, Dimitrov, Dragomir transl. and ed., *Śabdālaṁkāradoṣavibhāga - Die Unterscheidung der Lautfiguren und der Fehler. Kritische Ausgabe des dritten Kapitels von Daṇḍins Poetik Kāvyādarśa und der tibetischen Übertragung Sñan ṅag me loṅ samt dem Sanskrit-Kommentar des Ratnaśrījñāna, dem tibetischen Kommentar des Dpaṅ Blo gros brtan pa und einer deutschen Übersetzung des Sanskrit-Grundtextes*, Veröffentlichungen der Helmuth von Glasenapp-Stiftung, Monographien 2, Wiesbaden 2011. See also Eppling, John Frederick, *A Calculus of Creative Expression: The Central Chapter of Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa*, PhD dissertation, the University of Wisconsin-Madison 1989.

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Europe and the United States as far as Tibetan and Mongolian commentarial tradition is concerned, not to mention the theoretical considerations which underpin the development of *snyan ngag* poetry itself.[42]

Studying the *Kāvyādarśa* in Tibet and Mongolia (and in other Tibetan speaking regions), Tibetan poetics, and *snyan ngag* poetry cannot be done without knowledge of the history of Indian *snyan ngag* poetry in Tibet. Tibetans had at their disposal various *kāvya*s translated into Tibetan, from which they got inspiration and they commented upon these texts. However, it is a still completely unresearched topic in the English-speaking academia as to how the commentarial tradition of the *Kāvyādarśa* influenced Tibetan and the later Mongolian authors in comparison to *kāvya* itself. The fifth Dalai Lama, in his commentary to the *Kāvyādarśa* cited works ranging from the well known *Kumārasambhava* (T. *Snyan ngag gzhon nu 'byung ba*) and *Rāmāyaṇa*, along with the *Mahābhārata*, the *Agnipurāṇa*, and the *Markandeyapurāṇa*, but did not mention in a given passage[43] any name of any *kāvya*, that was known and/or translated in Tibet, such as:Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*

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42. See, for example: Shagdarin, Bira "Daṇḍin's 'Kāvyādarśa' in Tibet and Mongolia," *Indologica Taurinensia*, vol. VI, Proceedings of the Third World Sanskrit Conference (Paris, 20-25 June 1977), Torino 1978, pp. 69-77; Hürelbaatar L., "Kāvyādarśa of Dandin and Analogy of its Tibetan and Mongolian Commentaries," *Tibet Journal*, vol. XV, 2, Summer 1990; Jackson, R. R., "'Poetry' in Tibet: Glu, mGur, sNyan ngag and 'Songs Of Experience,'" in J. I. Cabezon and R. R. Jackson, eds., *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, Snow Lion, Ithaca, NY, pp. 368-392; Van der Kujipm Leonard W. J., "On the Interpretation of Kāvyādarśa II: 279," in *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, Heft 8/9, Reinbek 1982, pp. 69-76; Van der Kujip, Leonard W. J., "Tibetan Belles-Lettres: The Influence of Daṇḍin and Kṣemendra," in J. I. Cabezon and R. R. Jackson, eds., *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, Snow Lion, Ithaca, NY, pp. 393-410; Hartley, Lauran Ruth, *Contextually speaking: Tibetan literary discourse and social change in the People's Republic of China (1980-2000)*, PhD dissertation, Indiana University 2003.

43. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Snyan ngag me long gi dka' 'grel dbyangs can dgyes pa'i glu dbyangs*, in *The Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, Gangtok, Sikkim 1974, pp. 267-581, 11v 3-6.

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(T. *Skyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud*),[44] Aívaghoca's *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarānandakāvya*, Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*, *Raghuvaṃśa*,[45] and *Meghadūta* (T. *Sprin gyi pho nya bya*),[46] the *Amaruśataka* by Amaru, the *Setubandha* by Pravarasena, the *Bodhicaryāvatara* by Śāntideva,[47] the *Harṣacarita* by Bāṇa, and Candragomin's *Lokānanda*.

Beginning in the 14th century, almost every highly educated Tibetan attempted to compose *snyan ngag*-style poetry.[48] At the time of the great translators (T. *lo tsā ba*), appreciation of broad knowledge exceeding purely Buddhist religious fields of study gave birth to many new works on poetics. Also, Tibetan *snyan*

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44. Most probably the oldest Tibetan translation (nowadays not available) of the text was mentioned in *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue, see Stein, R. A., *Tibetan Civilization*, Faber and Faber LTD., London 1972, p. 153. After Solomon, Beth Ellen, *The Tale of the Incomparable Prince: A Study and Translation of the Tibetan Novel Gzhon nu zla med kyi gtam rgyud by Mdo mkhar zhabs drung Tshe ring dbang rgyal (1697-1763)*, PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison1987, pp. 11, 48.

45. One of the best experts in poetics in Tibet, Bod mkhas pa, mentions "kāvyaśāstra Raghuvaṁśa in 80.000 *ślokas*" attributing it to Rāmaśarman: *Rā ma sharmas mdzad pa'i snyan ngag gi bstan bcos ra ghu wam sha zhes pa shlo ka* [p. 104] *stong phrag brgyad cu yod pa sogs bstan bcos snga ma rnams las bsdus te bya'o* //, Bod mkhas pa mi pham dge legs rnam rgyal, *Snyan ngag gi bstan bcos chen po me long la 'jug pa'i bshad sbyar Daṇḍi'i dgongs rgyan*, 1991, pp. 103-104.

46. It was translated in the 14th century, and its Mongolian prose translation from Tibetan was included in the Bstan 'gyur. See, e.g., Poucha, Pavel, "A Kālidāsa text in New Mongolian," ed. Chandra, Lokesh, *Indo-Asian Studies Part 2*, Śata-piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, vol. 37, New Delhi 1965.

47. Translated into Mongolian prose from Tibetan in 1305/6 by Chos kyi 'od zer. See, for example, Cleaves, Francis Woodman, "The Bodistw-a cari-a awatar-un tayilbur of 1312 by Cosgi odsir", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17/1-2, 1954, pp. 1-129.

48. Tashi Tsering, "Tibetan Poetry Down the Ages," *Tibetan Review*, vol. XIV, No 2, 1979, p. 23.

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ngag poetry certainly did not develop as a homogenous literary phenomenon. E. Gene Smith's words can here be treated as a good example of this historical development: "The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were a period of vigorous ferment in the cultural as well as political field. Style in both prose and poetry became increasingly more complex and ornate. The literary output attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama represents the culmination of these gongoristic tendencies. The First Pan chen Lama, by contrast, seems much too lucid and straightforward, a bit old fashioned when compared with his prodigious disciple."[49]

This article has provided only a brief outline, showing only selected examples. Yet, hopefully, it has demonstrated the great richness of the Tibetan and the Mongolian traditions of poetics. It may serve as a reference, a starting point for anyone interested in the subject.

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49. Smith, E. Gene, *Among Tibetan Texts. History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, Wisdom Publications, Boston 2001, p. 124.

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APPASHASTRI'S COMMENTARY ON THE *BUDDHACARITA*

Shilpa Sumant*

Introduction

Buddhacarita is a classical poem by Aśvaghoṣa composed in the beginning of the Common Era. From its Chinese and Tibetan translations, we know that the original poem was of 28 cantos describing the life of Buddha from his birth to *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. It also included the description of the fights that took place for the relics of Buddha and the first congress held in Aśoka's reign. However, only first 14 *sarga*s are available now in Sanskrit covering the portion of Buddha's life till his enlightenment.

We all are aware of the fact that this poem though resembles the style of Sanskrit classical poetry, is not included in the famous *pañcamahākāvya*s of the classical Sanskrit literature. The text of *Buddhacarita* was first edited by E.B. Cowell in 1893. There is hardly any old Sanskrit commentary on this poem. In fact, no commentary, even by Buddhists, was available on it till the 20th Century of the Common Era. Appashastri Rashivadekar composed a commentary on first five *sarga*s of the *Buddhacarita*, which was published along with the English translation of the poem by V.V. Sovani in 1911. The text Appashastri adopts is not different from that of Cowell's. Appashastri's Sanskrit commentary in the recent times is an example of critical commentary composed in a celebrated style following the foot-steps of Mallinātha and other Sanskrit commentators on classical poetry. Appashastri constitutes every verse and paraphrases its each and every word in a classical manner. With the present paper, I wish to evaluate Appashastri's commentary as an example of a commentary composed in classical way in the recent times.

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* Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Yerawada. Pune-411006
Email: shilpa.sumant@dcpune.ac.in; shilsumant@hotmail.com

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Appashastri's effort is incredible as he himself is not a follower of Buddhism. His faith rests on Śiva. The benedictory verse of his commentary is devoted to the praise of Śaṅkara.[1] In the colophon at the end of each *sarga*, he offers his achievement to his preferred lord with the words *sadāśivārpaṇam astu*.

Appropriateness of the name of the commentary and aim of composition

Name of Appashastri's commentary is *Bālabodhinī*. Obviously, as the name suggests it is an aid to enlighten the beginners. Appashastri himself explains his aim and method in the initial verses as follows :

इयमन्वयमालम्ब्याशेषमर्थं विवृण्वती । हिताय कल्पतां व्याख्या शिशूनां बालबोधिनी ॥
अस्यां च संशयोच्छित्यै कोशव्याकरणादिकम् । यथास्थानमविस्तीर्णं सप्रमाणं निवेद्यते ॥

> "May this commentary, *Bālabodhinī*, elaborating the complete essence [of a verse] by proper construing, be for the benefit of the beginners.
>
> In this [commentary] for the removal of doubt, a brief explanation is narrated on every point with references given from the lexicons and grammatical treatises."

In the introduction of the book, Appashastri has mentioned that he is writing this work to benefit students who have this poem as a part of their syllabus.[2] Naturally, his targeted readers' group is those students.

Appashastri's titles and scholarship

In the colophon of the commentary, Appashastri mentions his titles as

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1. यं विश्वाधिकमामनन्ति मुनयो यस्मात्परं नापरं यस्मादेददेति विश्वमखिलं यः पात्यदश्नात्ति च । भक्तिर्यत्र निरुत्तराभिलाषितानर्थान् प्रसूतेऽखिलान् सोऽयं चेतसि नः स्फुरत्वविरतं शीतांशुचूडामणिः ॥

   "To whom the sages esteem as greater than the universe. There is nothing great beyond him, from whom the world comes into existence. Who protects it and consumes it. The devotion in whom generates all incomparable results. Let that moon-crowned [God] always manifest in our mind."

2. Cf. Rashivadekar-Sovani (1911:1)

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Vidyāvācaspati Vidyālaṅkāra. He presents himself as the pupil of Śrimatkāntācārya from the family of Paṇḍitarāja who himself is a great grammarian. Appashastri's scholarship is evident from his commentary. He knows many lexicons. He is well-versed in the Vedic and philosophical traditions; Epics and Purāṇas; grammatical and rhetorical works; Āyurvedic texts. He is well-read scholar of Sanskrit classical literature and its commentaries. He knows how to compose a commentary in a refined style. Thus, he is all equipped for composing a commentary. In this article, I will give the examples from his commentary that reveal his scholarship in all these fields.

Lexicons consulted

Similar to old commentators, Appashastri frequently cites *Amarakośa,*[3] *Medinīkośa,*[4] *Viśva,*[5] *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* as Haima[6] and Halāyudha's *Abhidhānaratnamālā.*[7] Sometimes he cites from *Nānārtharatnamālā,*[8] *Śabdakalpadruma,*[9] *Dharaṇīkośa,*[10] *Sabdaratnāvalī, Śabdārṇava*[11] and

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3. Cf. for example Appashastri's commentary on 1.2, 1.4, 1.12 and so on. Wherever in this article the reference is only numerical without mentioning a text, it is the *Buddhacarita* and the reference is to Appashastri's comments on that particular verse.
4. Cf. for example 1.2, 1.3, 1.9 and so on.
5. Cf. 1.15, 1.39
6. Cf. for example 1.2, 1.9, 1.39, 1.42 and so on. Apparently, Appashastri makes no difference between *Haima* and Hemacandra. At 1.83, he cites *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 84 times mentioning the source as Hemacandra. While at 2.41, the source of same citation is given as *Haima.*
7. Cf. 3.12, 4.41, 4.51.
8. Cf. 1.16
9. Cf. 1.2, 1.15, 3.8 etc.
10. Cf. 4.63.
11. Cf. 4.20.

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Trikāṇḍaśesa.[12] He cites from special lexicons such as *Uṇādikośa*,[13] *Avyayakośa*[14] and *Rājanirghaṇṭa*.[15] He has also rarely cited from *Śāradī nāmamālā*,[16] *Śabdacandrikā*,[17] Jaṭādhara's *Paryāyanānārthakośa*,[18] *Hārāvalī*[19] and *Kāmadhenu* commentary of Govindabhaṭṭa on *Kavikalpadruma*.[20]

Appashastri is very keen while giving the sources of the citations from the lexicons in almost all the cases. At 1.66, he refers to *Ratnamālā* for the explanation of the word *basti*. This *Ratnamālā* is Mādhava's *Paryāyaratnamālā*. (44.985) There might arise confusion in the minds of the readers whether the source is *Paryāyaratnamālā* or *Abhidhānaratnamālā*. This should be noted that for the latter, the commentator invariably uses the term *Halāyudha*.

Comments on Meters

Now let us see Appashastri's method of commenting on meters of the poem. Invariably when Aśvaghoṣa introduces a new meter, Appashastri helps the readers not only with its identification but also supplies its definition from rhetorical texts. For example, he cites the definition of *Vaṁśasthavila* meter from *Chandomañjarī* at 1.1. At 1.20, he cites the definition of *Vasantatilakā*. At 1.86, he gives the definition of *Puṣpitāgrā*. At 2.56, he gives the identification of the meter as *Mālinī* quoting its definition. At 3.64, of *Rucirā*; at 4.97 of *Vaṁśastha*, at 4.103 of *Śikhariṇī*; at 5.1, of *Mālabhāriṇī* and so on. In short, we may say that Appashastri supplies his readers all the information about the meters, let those meters be very popular or rare.

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12. Cf. 5.44
13. Cf. 3.65.
14. Cf. 5.75.
15. Cf. 5.9, 5.44.
16. Cf. 2.29.
17. Cf. 3.5.
18. Cf. 1.25
19. Cf. 2.36. 3.12.
20. Cf. 1.50.

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Comments on Figures of Speech

Similar to meters, Appashastri helps the readers with the identification and explanation of figures of speech. To give an example we can see Appashastri's commentary on 1.1, where he explains how *Kāvyaliṅga* figure of speech is found in this verse. Similarly, in the second verse of this poem, he explains that in the first half of the verse is *Upamā* and in the second half is *Gamyotprekṣā*. In the commentary of the fifth verse he mentions the *Udātta* figure of speech along with its definition. In this manner, Appashastri comments about the figures of speech in almost every verse.

Rhetorical works consulted

Among frequently consulted and quoted Rhetorical works by Appashastri are Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*[21] and Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.[22] Occasionally, there are the citations from *Kāvyaprakāśa, Alaṅkāraśekhara,*[23] Daṇḍin[24] and *Rasagaṅgādhara*.[25] There are several quotations from rhetorical treatises without mention of the author or name of the text. Obviously, Appashastri might have thought that they are very famous so could be mentioned without reference.[26]

Grammatical works consulted

In most of the cases, Appashastri provides grammatical rules of Pāṇini and

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21. Cf. 1.63, 1.70, 1.85, 2.2 and so on. At 1.87, Appashastri even mentions Vāmana (5.1.11) with reference to the original source.

22. Cf. 1.73, 4.6, 4.25 etc. At 3.33, Appashastri cites *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 6.150 without referring to the source. Similarly, at 5.49, he cites *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 7.23 with the introduction *tatha hyāhuḥ*.

23. Cf. 3.16.

24. Cf. 2.3, 3.21 etc.

25. Cf. 4.6.

26. Cf. 4.5, where he cites *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 3.53 saying *ālaṅkārikā vyācakṣate*. Same citation is found at the commentary on 4.54.

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relevant *Vārtikas* for the formation and explanation of different words used in Aśvaghoṣa's verses.[27] Occasionally, he refers to other grammatical treatises, for example at 2.10, he quotes *Siddhāntakaumudī* to explain the meaning of *pratibhū* as धनिकादमर्ल्योर मध्ये यस्तिष्ठति विश्वासाधर्म स प्रतिभूः इति भट्टोजी दीक्षिताः At 1.30, he cites *Vākyapadīya* 3.7.88 without the reference to the source.

Citations from Epics and Purāṇas

Aśvaghoṣa, himself was trained in the Brahmanical tradition. Hence, his poem is full with the references from the Epics and Purāṇas. Our commentator, Appashastri is also trained in the same tradition and provides complete information to the references quoted in the verses. Not only this when there is an opportunity to give examples, he readily cites from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*. For example at 1.62, while explaining the words *sūkṣmeṇa dharmeṇa*, he cites parallel usage from *Mahābhārata* 1.187.28.[28] At 1.82, he quotes *Mahābhārata* 1.85.12.[29] At 4.66, Appashastri refers to *Mahābhārata* 1.96.55 *ātmanaḥ pratirūpo'sau* to endorse the meaning of compatibility to *pratirūpa*. At 1.74, he cites *Mahābhārata* 1.60.5 for the birth of Utathya from Aṅgirasa.

While, at 2.15 Appashastri cites *Harivaṁśa* 7.25 mentioning Araṇya as one of the sons of Raivataka Manu. Also at 5.27, Appashastri cites from *Hārivaṁśa* 12.16.

At 1.49, Appashastri refers to the famous verse of Vālmīki's curse to *Vyādha* from *Rāmāyaṇa*. At 4.19, Appashastri refers to *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.9.3 describing the story of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.

Appasastri also quotes from Purāṇas. At 1.48, he mentions that the Sage Sārasvata is the ninth Vyāsa, *sārasvataś cāyaṁ navamo vyāsaḥ* and to support his information he provides the attestation of *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 3.3.13 with reference. While commenting on the same verse, he refers to *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 3.4.1, for the account of division of the Vedas, with the words *etad apyuktaṁ vaiṣṇave* (3.4.1).

27. For instance, cf. 3.14. For *Vārtikas*, cf. 4.2.

28. सूक्ष्मो धर्मो महाराज नास्य विद्मो वयं गतिम् ।

29. न जातु कामः कामोपभोगेन शाम्यति ।

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In this case as well, he gives the reference for easy search for beginners. He does the same at 4.74,75 and 78 where it cites from *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 4.19.5, 4.6 and 4.10 respectively. In addition to *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, the frequently used Purāṇa is the *Padmapurāṇa*. There is no mention of other purāṇas in his commentary except *Skandapurāṇa*. At 2.51, he mentions *Skandapurāṇa* 7.2.3 with slight variation, by saying *tad āhuḥ paurāṇikāḥ*. Also at 1.90, he cites a quotation that is similar to *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* 86.5 but is not exact.

At 1.94 Appashastri narrates with the words *paurāṇikī kathā*, a story of the birth of Kārtikeya.

Appashastri points out Aśvaghoṣa's mistake at 1.29, where the poet says that Māndhātṛ was born from the head of his father. Here Appashastri says that *nedaṁ purāṇeṣu vetihāseṣu Aśvaghoṣa. Tatra hi māndhātā pituḥ kukṣeḥ saṁdṛṣṭam. ity ākhyāyate.* In the same verse *Aśvaghoṣa* gives an example of a sage Kakṣīvat born from the shoulder of his father. In this case, Appashastri points out that the name of the sage actually should be Kakṣāvata as we find a sage of this name in the Purāṇas. But we find a sage of this name in the Vedas. The rest of the examples given in these verses by Aśvaghoṣa can be seen in the *Mahābhārata* or Purāṇas such as *Vaiṣṇavapurāṇa*.

I would like to give an interesting example. There is a mention of the Uttarakuru country in the verse 4.10. Appashastri quotes its description from the *Padmapurāṇa* as दक्षिणेन तु नीलस्य मनोः पार्श्वे तथोत्तरे । उत्तराः कुरवे रम्याः सिद्धनिषेविताः ॥ But it is interesting to note here that he identifies it with the United States of America. He says: उत्तरास तु कुरवः सम्प्रति युनायतेद स्तेट इति ख्याताः ।

Citations from Philosophical texts

Among frequently quoted philosophical texts is Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*.[30] He has also cited the text with reference at 3.65. Here, Appashastri quotes *Pātañjalayogasūtra* 1.30 explaining the obstacles in meditation with the reference given in the parenthesis. Among other *Yoga* texts cited by Appashastri are *Yogavārttika*[31] and *Yogabhāṣya*.[32] He also cites from Vidyāraṇavya's *Pañcadaśī*,[33]

30. Cf. 2.41, 3.65, 4.91, 5.10
31. Cf. 3.34
32. Cf. 1.39 and 5.47
33. Cf. 1.77

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Keśavamiśra's *Tarkabhāṣā*[34] and Vācaspatimiśra's *Tattvakaumudī*.[35] Once he cites *Bhagvadgītā* 10.8 at 1.60. Appashastri quotes from *Praśnottararatnamālikā* at 4.15.

Āyurvedic treatises referred

At 1.49, Appashastri refers to *Bhāvaprakāśa* for the account of the birth of Ātreya. Again there is a citation from the same text at 2.36. He cites Caraka Sūtrasthāna 1.26.79 for the elaboration of *kaṣāyaguṇa* at 1.68. He cites Vāgbhaṭa and Suśruta at 2.37. At 3.42, Appashastri quotes a citation mentioning it from *Vaidyaka*. It is Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Sūtrasthāna* 1.10.

Citations from *Dharmaśāstra* texts

Appashastri quotes from *Manusmṛti* at 2.38, 2.41 and 5.28. At 4.77, he cites *Manusmṛti* 9.23 with reference. He quotes *Manusmṛti* 2.127, ब्राह्मणम् कुशलं पृच्छेत् at 1.58 without any reference to the source. Perhaps, the citation is very famous and can be traced even in Purāṇas.[36] Appashastri has also rarely cited from *Devalasmṛti*,[37] *Parāśarasmṛti*,[38] *Hārītasmṛti*[39] and *Vyāghrapāda*[40] and so on.

Citations from classical treatises and other Sanskrit texts

Appashastri also quotes from classical literature. These texts are *Veṇīsaṁhāra*,[41] *Uttararāmacarita*,[42] *Kādambarī*,[43] *Bhaṭṭikāvya*,[44] Mahānāṭaka[45]

34. Cf. 1.34 and 2.21.
35. Cf. 1.87 and 5.10.
36. Cf. *Kūrmapurāṇa* 2.12.25 and *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* 3.233.81.
37. Cf. 1.89.
38. Cf. 1.89.
39. Cf. 1.88.
40. Cf. 3.56 and 4.9.
41. Cf. 5.78
42. Cf. 2.14. At 4.38, Appashastri cites *Uttararāmacarita* 1.33 without mentioning the source for justifying the usage of the verb *nī* prefixed with *anu*.
43. 5.73-74
44. 2.19
45. 4.68.

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and Śiśupālavadha.[46] He has also cited from the Kāmasūtra,[47] and Vasiṣṭhasaṁhitā[48]. At 1.80 Appashastri cites Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgyaśataka* 45 referring to him as Hari. He mentions several *subhāṣita*s to elaborate and support his comments.[49] At 2.11, he cites Kṣemendra's *Kalāvilāsa* 2.41 with the words *nitividaḥ*. At 4.6, Appashastri quotes Jagannātha's verse describing attractive way of beautiful women. AT 4.37, he quotes a definition of *lailitagīta* from *Saṅgītapārijāta*. At 2.41, Appashastri cites various statements from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

Appashastri is also well-versed with Mallinātha's commentaries on various texts. The fact is evident from the following example. At 4.46, Appashastri cites Mallinātha on *Kumārasaṁbhava* 6.2, where Mallinātha glosses *cūtayaṣṭī* as *cūtaśākhā*.

Parallels from Kālidāsa

At several places Appashastri takes help of Kālidāsa's passages to explain usage of certain phrases used by Aśvaghoṣa. He frequently cites from the famous poem *Raghuvaṁśa*. For example, at 1.38 to explain the meaning of the verb *samavākiran* as showering the flowers, Appashastri cites *Raghuvaṁśa* 2.10 with the words समवाकिरन् वर्षेण व्याप्तं कृतवन्तः । एतदर्थक एव कीर्तिः प्रयुक्तस् तत्रभवता कविकुलगुरुणा अवाकिरन् बाललताः प्रसूनैर् आचारलाजैर् इव पौरकन्याः ॥ He also cites from the same source at 1.75, where he cites *Raghuvaṁśa* 2.57. At 4.3, Appashastri cites *Raghuvaṁśa* 2.19, at 4.27, he cites *Raghuvaṁśa* 2.8 and at 4.84, he cites 2.54.

Similarly, Appashastri frequently cites from the *Kumārasaṁbhava*. At 2.51, he cites *Kumārasaṁbhava* 5.57 *tribhāgaśeṣāsu niśasu* to show the use of numerals. At 3.24, he refers to *Kumārasaṁbhava* 3.1 and at 3.31 to *Kumārasaṁbhava* 1.31. At 4.46, Appashastri cites *Kumārasaṁbhava* 6.2 with reference. While at 4.1, he cites *vikārahetau sati ... Kumārasaṁbhava* 1.59, without quoting the source.

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46. Cf. 4.25 and 4.72.
47. 4.72 and 5.58.
48. 2.12: for the measure of *puṣkariṇī*
49. 1.52, 4.46, 4.52, 4.54 , 4.55; 4.99, 5.38 etc.

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Appashastri cites from Kālidāsa's famous play *Abhijñānaśākuntala*. At 2.1, he quotes Śākuntala for explaining the usage of *miśra* in the sense of a group. At 2.4, he has explained the word *abhūṣitaiḥ* in the verse with the words नास्ति भूमौ उषितं वासो येषां तै. Here he quotes the words from *Abhijñānaśākuntala viyati bahutaram*. Also at 1.66, 5.61 and 5.69, he cites from *Śākuntala*.

Appashastri has cited *Mālavikāgnimitra* for one time at 4.71. Similarly for one time, he cites *Meghadūta*. At 3.16, he refers to Kālidāsa's *Uttaramegha* 22 to endorse the use of word *śroṇi* in the sense of heaps. Appashastri hardly cites from *Vikramorvaśīya*.

Marathi glosses

At 1.36 while explaining the words of Aśvaghoṣa *srīmadvitāne ... śayane*, the bed having Awning or canopy, Appashastri paraphrases it as *ullocaḥ*. However, perhaps not being convinced whether his targeted readers' group of beginners would understand this paraphrased word either, he explains it in Marathi as चान्दवा इति महाराष्ट्र्यां ख्यातः । At 1.50, while explaining the meaning of the word *vela*, he presents Marathi gloss *dhakketi maharāṣṭryām*. At 1.92, while paraphrasing the word *śibikā*, he again uses Marathi language as *pālakhīti maharāṣṭryām khyatām*. At 3.12, he glosses *kubja* as *kubaḍā* in the brackets. Similarly, *sopāna* as *pāyarī* at 3.15. At 3.60, he glosses *kūvara* as *dāṇḍī* in Marathi. Appashastri glosses *khalīna* as *lagāma* at 5.3. At 5.34, he gives Marathi gloss *cimaṇī* for Sanskrit *caṭakā*. While commenting on the same verse he explains meaning of *pratibhū* as *jabābdār jāmīn* in the parentheses. At 5.44, Appashastri gives Marathi rendering *samaī* for the word *dīpavṛkṣa*. At 5.51, he gives Marathi name *Pāṅgārā* for a specific tree *Karṇikāra*. At 5.55, Appashastri gives Marathi meaning *ghoraṇe* for ghūrṇana, snoring. This manner of paraphrasing in Marathi adds regional flavor in his commentary.

Appropriateness of Aśvaghoṣa's words

Appashastri occasionally discusses the appropriateness of the words used by Aśvaghoṣa. For example at 1.54, he justifies the form *pradadau*, where *parasmaipada* is used of the root *dā* with the suffix *pra*, He says धनप्रदानफलस्य

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पुत्रगामित्वात् परस्मैपदम् ।' While, at 3.24, Aśvaghoṣa uses the word *puṣpaketu* for Madana. Here the commentator points out that it would have been better if he would have used the words *puṣpabāṇa* or *puṣpadhanvan* as the word *puṣpaketu* does not connote the intended meaning.

At 5.7, Appashastri discusses that Aśvaghoṣa uses the phrase *abhyavocata* but has not mentioned anything. There might be a possibility that some verse(s) is missing here. But we do not find such verses in any of the manuscripts and hence apparently there is incongruity in Aśvaghoṣa's composition.[50]

Appashastri's text-critical approach

To give an example of Appashastri's text-critical approach, I may mention, he comments on *Buddhacarita* 1.46. Appashastri discusses in his commentary that this particular verse is not found in any Manuscript. But for the continuation of the topic, we cannot drop this and hence it has been discussed. Certainly, he is aware of the principles of textual criticism that if a particular point is not found in any Manuscript, one should give a thought on its originality. Appashastri comments on the verse because if we drop it, the flow of the topic is interrupted and so we should trust its genuineness.

Appashastri's limitations

One may notice in the commentary of Appashastri, various quotations and references to the texts famous in Brahmanical lore and can judge his learned scholarship from that. However, I must mention here that Appashastri refrains from citing parallel passages or examples from Buddhist canon. For example in the first *sarga*, he could have easily mentioned the passages from *Lalitavistara* describing the miracles happening at the time of Buddha's birth. Aśvaghoṣa's account very much resembles with it. The four life changing visions that *Sarvārthasiddha* witnesses, lead him to leave the palace in search of the truth are described by Aśvaghoṣa in accordance with the Buddhist Texts. However, Appashastri does not refer to any such text. Only exception is that of two places

50. अतः परं पद्येनैकेनापि वा विच्छिन्नेन भवितव्यमिति संभाव्यते । इदमभ्यवोचदिति हि निर्दिष्टं वचनमिति । तत एव चासंगतिरिवात्र प्रतिभाति । कस्मिन्नपि पुनः पुस्तके नालोकितमत्र पद्यं किमपि ।

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5.67 and 5.84, where he refers to the fifteenth chapter of *Lalitavistara*. Many times, he cites to the definitions of various concepts from different philosophical texts, let that be *Vedānta, Yoga, Nyāya* texts but does not enter into Buddhist philosophical texts for any explanation. He does not comment on typical words having specific significance in the Buddhist lore, e.g. he does not specifically say anything about Tuṣita or Śuddhādhivāsa gods appearing in Buddhist literature.

Conclusion

We know that Aśvaghoṣa himself was trained in Brahmanical tradition and later on converted to Buddhism. The aim of his poetry is to attract commoners to Buddhism and to preach the principles of religion and in a way he is not set for composing a classical poem just for leisure. Thus, it appears that his commentator also should have kept this in mind. But it appears from Appashastri's commentary that he appreciates this poem as a literary peace detaching it from its religious purpose. That is the reason why he does not explain the philosophical ideas coming occasionally in the poem in Buddhist way and resorts to other philosophical treatises. It appears from the readings of Appashastri's commentary that it is not for enlightening the readers in the Buddhist lore.

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A FURTHER NOTE ON THE USE OF *KṚ*

Satya Vrat Varma*

The plethora of its meanings discussed elsewhere[1] apart, the prolificity of the ubiquitous root *kṛ* knows no bounds. *Kṛ* is doubtless assigned to Eighth class of conjugation, the *Tanādigaṇa* but in view of the wide spectrum of meanings it is found to denote in the best vast domain of literature, both sacred and profane, it may well form a class by itself. A number of Sanskrit roots are indeed known to convey multiple meanings. Besides those assigned to them in the *dhātupāṭha* they are used in a variety of meanings that are not even remotely connected to those enumerated there, and for which the usage forms the only sanction. However, if there is any Sanskrit root that can be called truly homonym, it is *kṛ*. There is hardly any conceivable sense that it is not able to express with cogence. It may sound strange or incredible but it is not illogical at all. The secret of its homonimity seems to lie in its basic sense, which according to the *dhātupāṭha* is *karaṇa,* doing' *(ḍukṛñ karaṇe).* This general sense of *Kṛ* has amazing, almost infinite, specific dimensions that unfold themselves with telling effect in the given context. The general after all, culminates in the specific : *na nirviśeṣam sāmānyam.* True to the spirit of *satkāryavāda* of Sāṅkhya system, the effect like specific meanings of *Kṛ* are latent in its general sense that serves for all purposes

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* 7/34, Purani Abadi, Near Namdev Flour Mill, Sri Ganganagar-335001 (Raj)

1. See our papers : (i) 'On Some Meanings of *Kṛ*', *Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda,* Vol. 43, Pts. 1-2, pp.7-13; (ii) 'A Further Note on Some Meanings of Kṛ.' *Oriental Journal,* Tirupati, Vol. XLVI, Pts. 1-2, pp. 29-38; (iii) 'Further Observations on the Use of *Kṛ*' *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha,* Allahabad, Vol. LXIV (1-4), pp. 100-110; (iv)'On the use of *Kṛ* in the *'Manusmṛti'*, *Research Bulletin,* V. Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, Vol. 7, pp. 54-64

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as a cause *(kāraṇa)* for them to break through to the surprise and delight of the linguist.

Though *Kṛ* denotes an array of fascinating meanings in all its forms, the constructions with the *kṛt* suffixes are a virtual mine of rare and uncommon meanings. Amara reads *sukarā* as a synonym of *acaṇḍī,* a gentle cow: स्याद् अचण्डी तु सुकरा Bhanuji Dixit, his brilliant commentator, has striven hard to fathom its true import with particular emphasis on the suffix leading to its formation: *su sukhaṃ karoti. ac* (III. 1.134). *Su kriyate vā īṣad duḥ su ṣu ...* (III.3.126)[2] Whatever the worth of his derivations, they fail to explain the rationale behind giving a gentle cow the happy sobriquet of *sukarā.* The meaning which *Kṛ* denotes here seems to hold the key to resolving the engima. *Kṛ* has been used here in the highly uncommon sense of 'milking' *(dohana)* : सुखेन क्रियते दुह्यते इति सुकरा. The cow that readily submits to milking without resistance or tantrums is called *sukarā.* This is what a gentle cow actually is. With a view to broaden the dimensions of its gentleness, *Kṛ* may well be taken here to be synonymous with the root *sev* : सुखेन क्रियते सेव्यते इति सुकरा. A cow that is tended with little hostility on its part earned the proud epithet of *sukarā* from the ancient linguists.

On the face of it, *kārā* seems to be too common a word to merit serious consideration. It, however, is not so. The word is known to have filtered down to some of the vernaculars, and means prison *bandhanālaya* as Amara puts it. Bhanuji Dixit seeks to derive *kārā* from the root *Kṛ (कॄ)* of the *Tudādi* class: कॄ विक्षेपे (तु.प.से) । मिदादिपाठात् (III.3.104). अङ्दीर्घौ । कीर्यतेऽत्र ।[3] Bhanuji seems to be off the point in deriving it from *Kṛ.* What his derivation *kīryate'tra* signifies here, is anybody's guess. The word would be true to its import if it is derived from *Kṛ* of the *Taṇādi* class. *Kṛ* conveys here the extremely rare sense of 'imprisoning' *(bandhana),* which is seldom, if ever, met with elsewhere. क्रियन्ते बध्यन्ते (निगृह्यन्ते)ऽपराद्धा अत्रेति कारा, this is how it can be convincingly resolved. 'The place where the criminals are imprisoned / held is called *Kārā.*

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2. *Amarakoṣa* with Bhanuji Dixit's *Vyākhyāsudhā,* Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay 1929, p. 325

3. *Ibid,* p. 302

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नाद्यापि कर्मगृहीतो लोप्त्रगृहीतो वाऽमूत् ।[4] Formed from the root *Kṛ* with the *uṇādi* suffix *manin* (IV.145), *karma*, as employed here, is hard nut to crack. Though known to denote a number of meanings, both general and technical, the precise sense in which *karma* has been used here, is hard to divine. The word *'loptragṛhītaḥ'*, however seems to facilitate a coherent understanding of the intended sense of *karma*. Placed in the vicinity of *loptra* (stolen property), *karma* cannot mean here anything but the 'act of stealing' , 'stealth'. 'This servant has not ever been held stealing or with the booty', this is the only sane interpretation that can be put on the expression. That it is not an idle guess is evident from the fact that *karma* has been used in this sense by no less an authority than Śūdraka:

कृत्वा शरीरपरिणाहसुखप्रवेशं, शिक्षाबलेन च बलेन च कर्ममार्गम् ।[5]

karmamārgam in the verse stands for *cauryamārgam*, a passage made in the wall to commit theft. It is evident from the word *karma*, as used here, that *Kṛ* at some stage in the classical period meant 'to steal'.

With Kauṭilya *karma* seems to have been a technical term, meaning physical punishment like flogging. The two excerpts from the *Arthaśāstra* illustrate it beyond a shadow of doubt: मन्दापराधं बालं वृद्धं व्यधितं -- दुर्बलं वा न कर्म कारयेत् (IV.8.17), आप्तदोषं कर्म कारयेत् (IV.8.21) । 'Physical punishment (like flogging) should not be awarded to a child, an old man, a sick or weak person in case they have not committed a serious crime. But it should be invariably awarded to a proven guilty.' The sense, however, seems to be an extension of the literal meaning of *karma*. From 'action', the severe action of punishment is not a very far cry. In कर्मापराधेन विपत्तौ मध्यमः (IV.1.74), Kauṭilya again seems, to use *karma* in the technical sense of *cikitsā* (=treatment). 'In case death occurs due to negligence in treatment, the physician should be given punishment of the middle order.'

The word *kriyā* in Kālidāsa's famous dictum क्रिया हि वस्तूपहिता प्रसीदति,[6] poses quite some difficulty.

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4. *Vākyamuktāvalī*, Charu Dev Shastri, Jullundur, V.S. 2013, p. 168.
5. *Mṛcchakaṭika*, ed. R.D. Karmarkar, Poona, 1937, III.9
6. *Raghuvaṁśa*, ed. H.D. Velankar, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1948, III.29

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On the authority of the *Yādava-kośa,* Mallinātha has rightly rendered it as *śikṣā*, knowledge/teaching. 'Knowledge/education bears fruit only if it is imparted to a worthy pupil.' The antiquity of the meaning goes back to the time of Kauṭilya who has used the word in the same sense. क्रिया हि द्रव्यं विनयति नाद्रव्यम्[7], 'Knowledge disciplines a worthy man, not an unworthy one.' It is interesting to find that Amara records *śikṣā* as one of the nine meanings assigned to *kriyā* in his lexicon.[8] All that hardly leaves any doubt that *Kṛ* had come to be used in the sense of 'teaching' at quite an early time.

In view of it, it should not be difficult to identify the meaning of the causative past passive participle forms *kāritāḥ* and *akāritāḥ,* used by a master grammarian of the contemporary era. शमं हि सर्वे शास्त्रैकचक्षुष्का लोकैकचक्षुष्काश्च, कारिता अकारिताश्च कामयन्ते ।[9] *Kāritāḥ* here obviously means knowledgeable/educated, and *akāritāḥ* unknowledgeable/uneducated. 'All, be they educated or uneducated, want peace.'

अन्येद्युष्कं ज्वरं कुर्यान्न साद्यस्कमिति वैद्याः ।[10] The Potential form कुर्यात् needs some cerebration to determine its precise sense. ज्वरं कुर्यात् ? What should one do with the fever ? Obviously, it should be treated without delay. Indeed *Kṛ* means here 'to treat', 'to cure'. This meaning of the root may not be frequent in its *Tiṅganta* form, but is unmistakably pronounced in its derivative from *kriyā. Cikitsā* is one of the nine meanings of *kriyā* recorded in the *Amarakośa. jvaram kuryāt,* therefore, means *jvaram cikitset.* 'Old fever should be treated first than the fever that has struck the same day.

The *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa* combine to provide some remarkable uses of the root. It is from the *Pañcatantra* that we learn that *Kṛ* was used in ancient times in the scarcely conceivable sense of 'singing' also. तदहं गीतं करिष्यामि

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7. *Arthaśāstra*, ed. Udayavir Shastri, Delhi, 1970, I.5.5, p. 15
8. आरम्भो निष्कृतिः शिक्षा पूजनं संप्रधारणम् ।
   उपायः कर्मचेष्टा च चिकित्सा च नव क्रियाः ॥ *Amarakoṣa, op.cit.*, p. 424
9. *Vākyamuktāvalī, op.cit.*, p. 180
10. *Ibid*, p. 238

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। तत् कथय कतमेन रागेण करोमि[11] । (त्वं पुनः स्वेच्छया गीतं कुरु ।[12] *Kṛ* in its various forms has been purposely used here to turn focus on this rare sense of the root. 'I shall sing a song, but tell me in which *rāga* should I sing it !' -- 'you sing a song of your choice'. The meaning may well be beyond one's imagination, but it is these ramifications of its import that make *Kṛ* what it is. It is again the *Pañcatantra* that reveals that *Kṛ* meant 'to lead', 'to spend' as well. स्वामिन् । न युक्तमिदं यन्मित्रद्रोहेण जीवनं क्रियते ।[13] Here जीवनं क्रियते evidently means जीवनं नीयते /याप्यते । 'It is not proper for you, my master, to lead/spend life by harbouring enmity towards your friends.'

The most astounding meaning that *Kṛ* denotes in the *Hitopadeśa* is met with in अश्वमेधसहस्राणि सत्यं च तुलया कृतम् (IV.120). As is evident from the context: *Kṛ* has been used here in the sense of weighing : 'Thousands of Aśvamedha sacrifices and truth were weighed in a balance (but the pan of truth turned out to be heavier), *Kṛtam = tulitam.*

एषोऽहं कालं करोमि येन त्वया कृत्यमिदं निर्वर्तनीयम् ।[14]

In view of the tenor of the expression *kālam karomi* can only mean *kālam niścinomi.* The expression bears testimony to the fact that *Kṛ* is used here in the sense of 'fixing', 'determining', 'I hereby fix the duration of the time wherein you have to accomplish this task.' *Kālam karomi kālavadhiṃ niścinomi.* The meaning is not a late invention. Its antiquity goes back to the time of the *Mahābhārata.* In the resume of the Rāma story popularly known as the *Rāmopākhyāna,* Sugrīva informs Lakṣmaṇa :

दिशः प्रस्थापिताः सर्वे विनीता हरयो मया ।
सर्वेषां च कृतः कालो मासेनागमनं पुनः ॥[15]

The context in which *kṛtaḥ* is placed leaves little doubt about the meaning of the root *Kṛ.* It without doubt conveys the sense noted above, *Kṛtaḥ = niścitaḥ.*

11. *Pañcatantra* ed. Jwala Prasad Mishra, Bombay, 1923, p. 484.
12. *Ibid,* p. 486
13. *Ibid,* p. 125
14. *Vākyamuktāvalī, op. cit.,* p. 222
15. *Mahābhārata, Vanaparva,* 282.18

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'I have despatched the monkeys to the respective quarters and have fixed the month's time for them to return.

व्याभिचारं मुनिर्ज्ञात्वा पत्न्याः प्रकुपितोऽब्रवीत् ।
घ्नतैनां पुत्रकाः पापामित्युक्तास्ते न चक्रिरे ॥[16]

The perfect plural from *cakrire* in the verse defies coherent interpretation its significance being somewhat vague in the situation. If the tenor of the verse is any guide, *Kṛ* seems to have been intended here as a counterpart of the root *han* in *ghnata*. If so, *cakrire* can only mean *jaghnuḥ* here, though *Kṛ* is hardly ever used in this sense. 'The sons, though bidden by their father to do it, did not kill their mother.'

We owe it to Mammaṭa that *Kṛ* at some point of time meant 'to use' also. The *Kāvyaprakāśa* provides an interesting illustration of the meaning. Justifying the use of the fleeting feeling *(saṁcārī bhāvas)* by name in a specific situation, Mammaṭa observes : उत्सुकत्वानुभावस्य सहसा प्रसरणादिरूपस्य तथा प्रतिपत्तिकारित्वाभावादुत्सुकमिति कृतम् ।[17] *Kṛtam* in the excerpt evidently means *prayuktam*. 'The fleeting feeling *utsukatvam* has been used here by name in the verse as its manifestations (*anubhāvas*) like 'quick movement' are unable to convey Pārvatī's impatience with cogence.

Kṛta, as used by the ancient masters in compound forms, has indeed a number of connotations, which, if anything lend added colour to the root. In राजभिः कृतदण्डास्तु पापानि कृत्वा मानवाः[18], कृतदण्डाः means दत्तदण्डाः, punished; in कृतोदकान्समुत्तीर्णान्मृदुशाद्वलसंस्थितान्,[19] कृतोदकान् means स्नातान्, bathed; in किं पुनः स कृतास्त्रोऽद्य न हन्याद् वो महाशयः,[20] कृतास्त्रः means प्राप्तास्त्रः । While prescribing the items that are to be offered at a crossing, Yājñavalkya includes कृताकृततण्डुल in the list : कृताकृतांस्तण्डुलांश्च पललमोदनमेव च[21] । The commentator explains कृताकृताः as सकृदवहताः, the rice that have

16. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, V.S. 2059, IX. 16.1
17. *Kāvyaprakāśa*, ed. Acharya Vishveshvar, Kashi, V.S. 2024, p.366
18. *Manusmṛti*, Nirnaya Sagar Press, IV. 54
19. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, Nirnaya Sagar Press, 1949, III 1.7, p. 329
20. *Mahābhārata, Vanaparva*, 249.14
21. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti, op. cit.*, I. 289

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been husked once. That tends to be imprecise, if not worse. The rice are husked only once, not time and again. The relevance and significance of the attribute would come out tellingly if the compound is dissolved as कृताश्च अकृताश्च कृताकृताः तान् कृताकृतान् । The rice that were offered as *bali* included both the husked and unhusked ones.

Manu, on the other hand, lays down the food items that could be exchanged. Besides others, कृतान्न and अकृतान्न were also interchangable.

कृतान्नं चाकृतान्नेन तिला धान्येन तत्समः ।[22]

As paraphrased by Kullūka सिद्धान्नं चामात्रेन परिवर्तनीयम्, कृतान्न means 'cooked food' and अकृतान्न uncooked grains.

The Sāvitrī episode in the *Matsyapurāṇa* is marked by the use of the root in some astoundingly new meanings. Sāvitrī's caution to her husband in the tantalizing situation, दूरं कान्त न कर्त्तव्यो(यं) बिभेमि गहने वने[23] sounds cryptic so far as the meaning of *karttavyam* is concerned. Evidently *Kṛ* denotes here *gati,* the act of going. *Dūram na karttavyam,* therefore, means *dūram na gantavyam.* 'You are not to go far as the vast forest strikes fear in me.' And Satyavān's action in response to his wife's advice, ततः स काष्ठानि चकार तस्मिन् वने तदा राजसुतासमक्षम्[24] stirs one's curiousity as to what Satyavān did of the woods (*kāṣṭhāni*)! *Cakāra* is a hard nut to crack. But the context seems to suggest that the root *Kṛ* has been used here in the sense of *sañcayanam* 'gathering'. Forbidden by his wife from going deep into the jungle, Satyavān gathered *kāṣṭhas* right in her presence. Interestingly *Kṛ* in the word *Madhukara* has much the same meaning. The black bee is called *madhukara* because it gathers honey from a number of flowers to satiate its palate : मधु करोति सञ्चिनोतीति मधुकरः । And त्वदुत्संगे शिरः कृत्वा स्वपुमिच्छामि साम्प्रतम्[25], highlighting Satyavān's wish to have a restful sleep, throws up the use of *Kṛ* in the equally interesting sense of 'placing', 'putting'. 'Now I want to sleep, placing my head on your lap.'

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22. *Manusmṛti, op. cit.,* X. 94
23. *Matsyapurāṇa,* Gita Press, Gorakhpur, V.S. 2065, 209.34
24. *Ibid,* 209.35
25. *Ibid,* 210.3

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That *Kṛ* at some point of time, meant 'to obey', 'to carry out', is brilliantly borne out by such outstanding texts as the *Mahābhārata* and some of the purāṇas. The excerpt from the *Narasiṁha Purāṇa* (NP) preserves this sense of the root : तमेवाहं सदा कुर्यां नान्यमस्मि महामते (XIII. 37). 'I religiously carry out the duty of serving my husband, and none else.' The root is also found used in this sense in the anguished cry of Bhīṣma in the *Mahābhārata :* न च मे तद् वचो मूढः कृतवान् स मन्दधीः ।[26] 'The evil-minded Duryodhana did not carry out my word.' The NP again has to its credit the use of *Kṛ* in a very rare and uncommon sense. In रमयति कुरुते न मोक्षमार्गं, दहयति चन्दनमाशु भस्महेतोः (IX.7), *kurute* evidently means *anusarati, sañcarati.'* He who indulges in pleasures and does not follow/ tread the path of salvation, this act of his is as unwise as burning sandalwood for the sake of ashes.' 'To put on' is the meaning which *Kṛ* is found to convey with quite some frequency. In the following verse from the *Jātakamālā*

मम तावदिदं दुःखं धीरतां कर्तुमिच्छतः ।
का त्ववस्था मम तयोः सुतयोः सुखवृद्धयोः ॥ P. 106

कर्तुं is obviously synonymous with धर्तुम् । ' I strive to put on courage, but I am pained to think as to what might have happened to my sons, brought up so fondly.' It is in the same sense that the excerpt from the *Mahābhārata* uses the root : यो नोद्धतं कुरुते जातु वेषम् ।[27] 'He does not ever put on/ don a gaudy robe,' Though the root has been used in apparently the same sense in the two excerpts, their connotations differ substantially. In the verse from the *Jātakamālā,* 'putting on' (courage) is a mental process, it is a physical act in the latter.

It is again the *Mahābhārata* that provides us some other interesting meanings of the root. The phrase *kurute mūlam* in Kuṇika's sane observation in the course of his famed sermon to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, तालवत् कुरुते मूलं बालः शत्रुरुपेक्षितः[28], poses difficulty in interpreting it convincingly. In the given context, however, it can only mean 'strikes root', 'establishes himself.' The enemy, though small and weak, if ignored at the outset, strikes root with the passage of time.' As averred

26. *Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparva,* 167.43
27. *Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva,* XXX, III
28. *Mahābhārata, Ādiparva,* 139.86

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in the second half of the verse. गहनेऽग्निरिवोत्सृष्टः क्षिप्रं संजायते महान्, it is then difficult to root him out.

The meaning of *Kṛ* as used in the perfect form *cakre* in the *Mahābhārata*-verse कालेन गच्छता सोऽथ कालं चक्रे महिपतिः, is anything but clear. Incidentally a parallel expression, which means to be the curse pronounced on Daśaratha by the blind sage, is met with in the *Rāmāyaṇa* also : एवं त्वं पुत्रशोकेन राजन् कालं करिष्यसि (II. 64.54). The commentator Rāma seems to be unsure of the meaning of the expression. The way he has sought to explain it, कालं पुत्रसंयोगजनितसुखकालं करिष्यसि त्यक्ष्यसि, leaves one cold. Tilaka and Govinda have rendered कालं करिष्यसि as मृत्युं प्राप्स्यसि which seems to accord well with the context. The root *Kṛ* in the aforesaid excerpt from the *Mahābhārata* has also been used in this very sense. It would be perfectly in keeping with the spirit of the context to render कालं चक्रे as मृत्युं प्राप । 'That king reached his end after some time.' कालं मृत्युं चक्रे प्रवेदे । ममारेत्यर्थः ।

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પ્રો. સી.સી. મહેતા ઓડિટોરિયમ, જનરલ એજ્યુકેશન સેન્ટર સામે,
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ORDER OF OPERATIONS IN THE FORMATION OF SANSKRIT COMPOUNDS: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INTRODUCTION OF *SAMĀSĀNTA* ELEMENT AND DELETION OF CASE ENDINGS

Pavankumar Satuluri,
K. V. Ramakrishanamacharyulu,
Amba Kulkarni*

1 BACKGROUND

Sanskrit is rich in compound formation with almost one among every fifth word in a text being a compound.[1] The effort of building an exhaustive lexicon for a select few thousand texts, including the compounds occuring in these texts with their constituency analysis, is ongoing at the Deccan College. But even after the availability of such a lexicon, we still would not have a list of *all* the compounds found in Sanskrit literature, since only a few thousand texts are being used for building this dictionary. In addition, no matter what the extent of textual material, it would not exhaust the possibilities of a productive system, captured by rules. Though compound formation is productive, not every lexical item can combine with every other lexical item and yield a compound. A compound formation is governed by the dictum of *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (A2.1.1). Two components can undergo a process of compound formation only if the components are semantically and syntactically related (*samartha*). Therefore, building a compound analyser is a challenging task. One can at the most build an analyser that provides 'guessed'

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* Department of Linguistics & Literary studies, Chinmay University, CEG campus, Veliyanad, Kochi, Email : pavankumarsatuluri@gmail.com(M) : 9493949376

1. This estimate is based on the corpus developed by the Sanskrit Consortium for the project on 'Development of tools for Analysis of Sanskrit texts and Sanskrit-Hindi Machine Translation System' funded by Deity (2008-12), Government of India.

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solutions, which are subject to verification for their correctness through a compound generator.

Pāṇini deals with compounds very thoroughly, handling exceptional cases in great detail. Out of around 4000 *sūtras* in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* a little more than 400 *sūtras* deal with the compound formation. Further, following Pāṇini, in Indian grammatical tradition, there is an abundant discussion of compounds both at the level of the compound formation (*prakriyā*) involving morphology and phonology', and at the level of meaning analysis (*artha*). In recent years, many scholars have worked on compounds on both these aspects. Joshi (1968) gives a detailed account of the discussion involved in the Indian tradition on semantic compatibility and meaning compositionality. Pataskar (1996) has discussed the use of the *dvandva* compounds in *Pāṇini-sūtras* in relation to their case endings. Bhandare (1995) has discussed the structural and semantic aspects of *dvandva* compounds. He discusses the complete process of *dvandva* compound formation and observes that unlike other compounds *dvandva* compounds enjoy some free word order among its components. Mahavir (1986) talks about the process of generating a compound from its paraphrase (*vigrahavākya*). Compounds are always binary with an exception of conjunctive (*dvandva*) and some exocentric (*bahuvrīhi*) compounds. Individual components of the compounds can themselves be compounds, thus allowing recursion in the formation of compounds. For understanding such compounds the underlying constituency structure is important. Gillon (2009) proposes an extended phrase structure syntax to represent the underlying constituent structure of the compounds. On the computational front, Kumar (2012) has proposed a computational process for the analysis of Sanskrit compounds. While this system uses Pāṇini's rules for identification of the type and analysis of exceptional compounds, the frequent compound type identification and analysis are done using the statistical properties of the corpus. Goyal and Huet (2013) describes computational analyses of *avyayībhāva* compounds.

With the goal of building a compound generator, we looked at Pāṇini's system afresh. The *sūtras* related to compound formation are distributed in different chapters in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* according to the kind of operation described therein. In the fourth *pāda* of the first chapter of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtras* from

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ūryādicviḍācaśca (A1.4.61) to *jīvikopaniṣadāv-aupamye* (A1.4.79) assign to given items under stated conditions the label *gati*, and members of this class form compounds. *Sūtras* starting from *samarthaḥ padavidiḥ* (A2.1.1) to *cārthe dvandvaḥ* (A2.2.29) are related to the formation of a compound. *Sūtras* from *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* (A2.2.30) to *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye* (A2.2.38) are related to the word order in the compounds. In the fifth chapter *sūtras* from *samāsāntāḥ* (A5.4.68) to *niṣpravāṇiśca* (A5.4.160) introduce special entities related to compounds and called *samāsānta*. The third section of the sixth chapter has several *sūtras* which deal with various stages of compound formation. *Sūtras* from *alug uttarapade* (A6.3.1) to *vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoḥ* (A6.3.24) prohibit the deletion of the case endings, and the *sūtras* from *kustumburūṇi jātiḥ* (A6.1.143) to *pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca saṁjñāyām* (A6.1.157) and from *ānaṅ ṛto dvandve* (A6.3.25) to *mitre carṣau* (A6.3.130) transform the first constituent and second constituent of a compound.

2 COMPOUND FORMATION PROCEDURE

We describe below the steps involved in the process of compound formation followed in the Pāṇinian tradition.

1. Analytical paraphrase (*alaukikavigraha*)

Assume that a speaker wants to express a concept 'a person who is a servant of a king'. There are three basic elements involved in this concept, viz. a person, a king and a servant-master relation between them. The servant-master relation *(sevya-sevaka-bhāva)* in Sanskrit is expressed by the genitive case suffix. This concept is represented in the form of a linguistic expression as

rājan + Ṅas puruṣa + sU

where the words *rājan* and *puruṣa* denote a king and a man respectively, *Ṅas* and *sU* are the genitive and nominative case suffixes respectively. This representation showing the linguistic analysis of a compound is called an *alaukikavigraha* and is the starting point of the derivation of a compound.

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2. (a) Assignment of the label *samāsa* :

The compound formation is purely under the control of the desire of a speaker (*vaktṛvivakṣādhīnam*) to express. In the derivation process, corresponding to an *alaukikavigraha*, the speaker has an option to produce either a sentential expression or a compound expression[2]. The choice is governed by a condition that the components involved are mutually syntactically and semantically related[3]. In other words, there should be some rule in the grammar which guarantees the formation of a compound with given components and the desired meaning. In the above example, the components *rājan* and *puruṣa* are semantically related *(samartha)*, and hence if the speaker has an intention to form a compound, the Pāṇinian *sūtra ṣaṣṭhī* (A2.2.8) sanctions the formation of such a compound. Such an *alaukikavigraha* then gets the designation *samāsa*.

(b) Introduction of a *samāsānta* element:

There are certain suffixes which are added to the compound at the end of an *alaukikavigraha*. And also there are certain replacements which take place at the end of an *alaukikavigraha*. These are called *samāsānta* elements. For example, the *sūtra avyayībhāve śaratprabhṛtibhyaḥ* (A5.4.107) adds a suffix *ṬaC* if the compound is of the type *avyayībhāva* and one of the word is from a special list that starts with *śarad*. Thus

$$śarad + Ṅas\ upa \rightarrow śarad + Ṅas\ upa\ ṬaC$$

3. Designation of *prātipadika* :

Such an expression then gets designated with a label *prātipadika*[4].

---

2. Strictly speaking, there are certain compounds which are termed as *nityasamāsas* (*avigrahaḥ asvapadavigraho vā nityasamāsaḥ* - PMa (I:568)) whose sentential paraphrase necessarily involves components that are not constituents of the compound. Such compounds are governed by the *sūtras* falling in the range A2.1.5 to A2.1.10. Barring these, all the compounds can optionally be expressed as a sentential paraphrase as well.

3. *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (A2.1.1)

4. *kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca* (A1.2.46)

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4. Determining the order of constituents by assigning the label *upasarjana*

The position of the head (*viśeṣya*) of a compound more or less depends on the type of a compound. A *tatpuruṣa* (endocentric) compound has the second component as its head while an *avyayībhāva* has the first component as the head. In the case of a *bahuvrīhi* (exo-centric) the head is the one which this compound modifies and in the case of a conjunctive compound, every component has equal importance. However there are many exceptions to this general observation. So the mere type of a compound does not help us in deciding the word order. Pāṇini uses a special mechanism to mark the order of words in a compound. Pāṇini labels a component that will occupy the first position by the term *upasarjana*. The designator of a word in nominative case in the governing rule, which sanctions the compound formation and decides the compound type, is the one which gets the designation *upasarjana*. For example consider the *alaukikavigraha*

śarad + Ṅas upa

The *sūtra*[5] which sanctions the compound formation for this input consists of two words. Among these the word *avyayam* in the *sūtra* is in nominative. Hence that word in the *alaukikavigraha* which is an *avyaya* gets the label *upasarjana*. In the above-mentioned example *upa* being an *avyaya*, it gets the label *upasarjana*.

5. Changing the order of the components (*pūrvanipāta*)

The consequence of assigning a label *upasarjana* is to place the word having designated as *upasarjana* in the first position. This operation is termed as *pūrvanipāta*. In the above-mentioned example, *upa* which got the label *upasarjana* occupies the first position changing the *alaukikavigraha* to

upa śarad + Ṅas

---

5 *avyayam vibhakti-samīpa-samṛddhi-vyṛddhyarthābhāvātyayāsampratiśabdaprādurbhāva-paścādyathānupūrvya-yaugapadya-sādṛśya-sampattisākalyāntavacaneṣu* (A2.1.6)

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Bahuvrīhi and *dvandva* deserve special mention.The governing *sūtra* in *bahuvrīhi* is *anekamanyapadārthe* (A2.2.24). Here the word in nominative case is *anekam* which refers to all the components together (undergoing the compound formation). And thus, each of the components gets *upasarjana* label. In the case of *dvandva*, the governing rule is *cārthe dvandvaḥ* (A2.2.29). In this *sūtra* there is no word that ends in a nominative case. Hence, there is no scope for assigning the label *upasarjana*. In such cases Pāṇini gives special rules to decide the first component (*pūrvanipāta*).

6. Deletion of case suffixes *(subluk)*

Typically in a compound formation the case suffixes of all the components get deleted. There are, however, certain exceptional cases when the case suffix of the initial component does not get elided[6]. For example, in the following case

yudh + Ṅi[7] *sthira + sU*

Ṅi is retained. But in the case of

rājan+Ṅas puruṣa+sU

Ṅas is deleted. In either case the case suffix of the second component is deleted. This transforms the above two cases into *yudh + Ṅi sthira* and *rājan puruṣa* respectively.

7. Transformation of the components (*padakārya*)

In certain cases, the first component undergoes certain transformations if the second component fulfills certain conditions. For example, *pāda* changes to *pad*[8] if it is followed by either *āji, āti, ga* or *upahata.*

pāda + āti → *pad + āti*

In certain cases, the second component also undergoes certain changes if

---

6. *aluguttarapade* (A6.3.1)
7. *haladantāt saptamyāḥ saṁjñāyām* (A6.3.9)
8. *pādasya padā'jyātigopahateṣu* (A6.3.52)

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the first component fulfills certain conditions. For example, *sthira* changes to *ṣthira*[9] in the presence of *yudhi*.

yudhi + sthira → yudhi ṣthira

Each of the components thus transformed may undergo certain operations that are independent of the other words in the context. For example, in the case of *rājan* the final *n* gets deleted[10].

8. Euphonic transformations at the juncture (*sandhikārya*)

The two components thus transformed undergo euphonic transformations. For example,

rāma ālaya → rāmālaya[11]

9. Deciding gender, number and accent

Such a stem is now all set to undergo word formation rules. But before that, a stem should get its proper gender, number and accent. Gender is an intrinsic property of a nominal stem[12]. The type of a compound helps in deciding the gender of the new lexeme formed. An *avyayībhāva* compound stem is always in neuter gender[13], while in the case of *tatpuruṣa* and *dvandva* compounds[14] the gender of the compound stem is the same as that of the second component and in the case of *bahuvrīhi* the gender is the same as that of the word it modifies[15]. There are of course a few exceptional cases which are dealt with by Pāṇini with special rules.

---

9 *gaviyudhibhyāṃ sthiraḥ* (A8.3.95)

10 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya* (A8.2.7)

11 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* (A6.1.101)

12 *ekaṃ dvikaṃ trikaṃ cātha catuṣkaṃ pañcakaṃ tathā nāmārtha iti sarve'mī pakṣāḥ śāstre nirūpitāḥ* - VBhs*(nāmārthanirṇayaḥ* 216 (1)

13 *avyāyībhāvaśca* (A2.4.18)

14 *paravalliṅgam dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ* (A2.4.26)

15 *anekamanyapadārthe* (A2.2.24)

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In the case of a *tatpuruṣa* the number is the same as the number of its primary component. A *bahuvrīhi* compound gets its number from its referent. *Avyayībhāva* and *samāhāra-dvandva* are always singular in number[16]. In case of an *itaretara-dvandva*, the number of the resulting compound depends on the nature and the number of its components.

A compound is characterized by a single accent. Usually the final vowel in a compound is *udātta*[17] (high-pitched). *Tatpuruṣa* and *avyayībhāva* compounds have a high pitch at the end (*antodātta*). *Bahuvrīhi*, and *dvandva* compounds have the same accent as that of the *pūrvapada*[18]. These are the general rules and there are some exceptions to them.

10. Word formation

The final step is the word formation with an appropriate case ending.

3 THEORETICAL ISSUES IN COMPOUND FORMATION

As is well-known, the Pāṇinian system does not give an explicit step by step procedure to derive a compound from its components. Rather what it describes is what transformations take place when certain conditions are met. In order to decide the order of these steps, to develop an algorithm ('how') to generate a compound from its components, we looked at some worked-out examples from *Pāṇinīya-vyākaraṇodāharaṇa-kośa* and the appendices of *Aṣṭādhyāyī-bhāṣya-prathamāvṛtti* by Brahmadatta Jijñāsu.

A typical process of compound formation followed by several teachers and important collection of meticulously worked-out examples such as *Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇodāharaṇakośa* is sketched below. The generation process of a compound starts with an *alaukikavigraha*, and this expression gets the designation *samāsa*, followed by another designation, *prātipadika*. This is followed by the elision of case endings (*subluk*[19]) in the case of non-*aluk* compounds. Then

16 *samāhāra grahaṇaṃ kartavyam (Vārttika* 1559) MBh A2.4.1 (II.534))

17 *samāsasya* (A6.1.223)

18 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* (A6.2.1)

19 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* (A2.4.71)

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assignment of the label *upasarjana* and consequent placement as prior or subsequent constituent take place. At this point, entities called *samāsānta* come into effect. There follow operations on prior constituents (*pūrvapadakārya*), subsequent constituents (*uttarapadakārya*), word operations (*padakārya*), and phonological operations that apply at junctures (*sandhikārya*); finally, the gender, number and accent of the newly formed lexeme are decided and an appropriate case ending is added to get the compound. This process is shown as a flow chart in Figure 1.

The derivation of *uparājam* as found in *Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇakośa* and *Aṣṭādhyāyībhāṣyaprathamāvṛtti* is shown in figures 2 and 3 respectively.

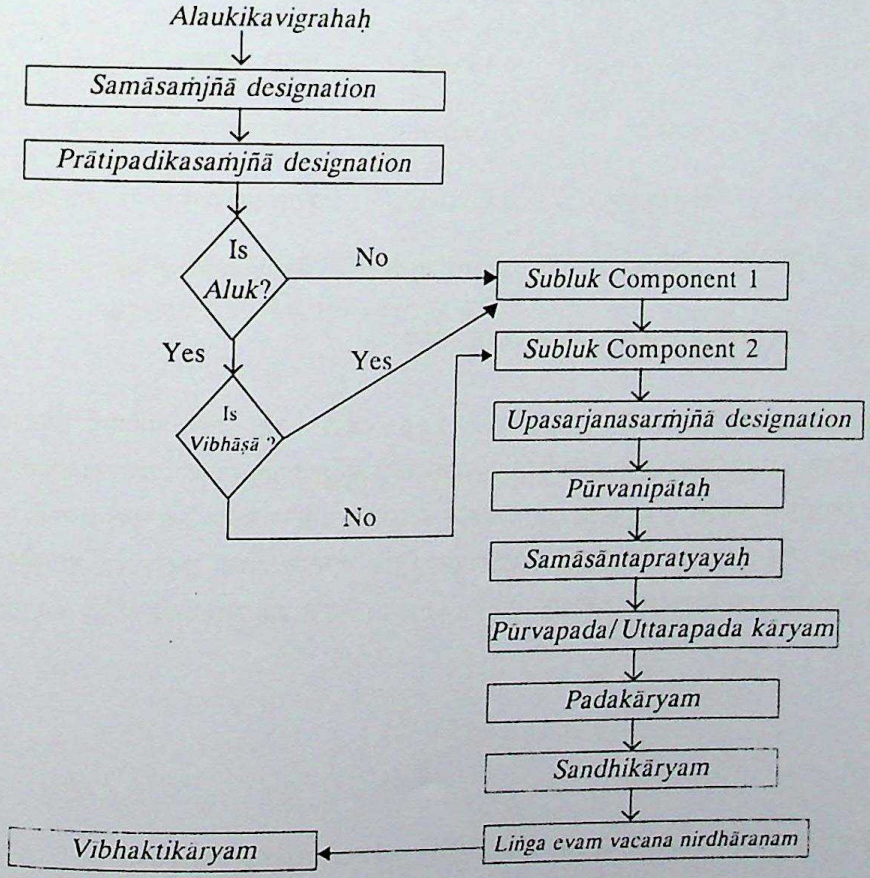

Figure 1 : Process of Compound Generation (1)

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उपराजम्

राजन् + अस् + उप	अव्ययं विभक्ति...	2.1.006/0652	समीपार्थकस्य उप इति अव्ययस्य राजन्शब्देन अव्ययीभावसमासः
	कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च	1.2.046/0179	समासत्वात् प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा
राजन् + उप	सुपो धातुप्राति...	2.4.071/0650	प्रातिपदिकावयवस्य सुपो लुक्
	प्रथमानिर्दिष्टम्...	1.2.043/0653	समासशास्त्रे प्रथमान्तेन निर्दिष्टस्य उप इत्यस्य उपसर्जनसंज्ञा
उप + राजन्	उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्	2.2.030/0654	उपसर्जनस्य उप इत्यस्य पूर्वनिपातः
उप + राजन् + अ	अनश्च	5.4.108/0678	अन्नन्ताद् अव्ययीभावात् टच्
उप + राज + अ	नस्तद्धिते	6.4.144/0679	नान्तस्य भसंज्ञकस्य टेर्लोपः
उपराज + स्	स्वौजसमौट्...	4.1.002/0183	प्रथमाविभक्तौ एकवचने सुप्रत्ययः
उपराज + अम्	नाव्ययीभावात्...	2.4.083/0657	अदन्तादव्ययीभावात् परस्य सोः अमादेशः
उपराजम्	अमि पूर्वः	6.1.107/0194	अदन्तादव्ययीभावात् परस्य सोः उमादेशः

टिप्पणीः- राज्ञः समीपम् उपराजम् । उपकृष्णवत् 'अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यृद्ध्यर्थाभावात्ययासम्प्रति...' 2.1.006/0652 इति सूत्रेण समीपार्थे उपशब्दस्य अव्ययीभावः । समासविधायकसूत्रे अव्ययमिति प्रथमाविभक्त्या निर्देशात् अत्र समीपार्थकस्य उप इत्यव्ययस्य उपसर्जनसंज्ञा । 'अनश्च' 5.4.108/0678 इति सूत्रस्य उदाहरणम् । अनेन सूत्रेण अन्नन्तात् अव्ययीभावात् समासान्तः टच्-प्रत्ययः । 'नस्तद्धिते' 6.4.144/0679 इति नान्तस्य भस्य अन्-रुपस्य टेः लोपः । अव्ययीभावस्य अव्ययसंज्ञायाम् 'अव्ययादाप्सुपः' 2.4.082/0452 इति प्राप्तं लुकं बाधित्वा सोः अमादेश ।

Figure 2 : Example from *Pāṇiniyavyākaraṇidāharaṇakoṣa*

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परि० समासान्ताः (5.4.68)

राज्ञः समीपम् = उपराजम्

उप सु राजन् ङस्	पूर्ववंत् उपकुम्भम् के समान समीपार्थ में अव्ययीभावसमास होकर
उपराजन्	अनश्च (5.4.108) से समासान्त टच् प्रत्यय होकर
उपराजन् टच्	पूर्ववत् सु आकर
उपराजन् अ सु	यचि भम् (1.4.18), भस्य (6.4.129), नस्तद्धिते (6.4.144) से टि भाग का लोप होकर
उपराजन् अ सु	अव्ययीभाव संज्ञा उपराज की तो है ही; किन्तु टच् प्रत्यय के समास के अवयव होने के कारण टच् सहित उपराज अव्ययीभाव कहलाया। अतः नाव्ययीभावादतो० (2.4.83) के अकारान्त अव्ययीभाव मानकर सु को अम् हो गया ।
उपराज अम्	अमि पूर्वः (6.1.107)से पूर्वरुप होकर
उपराजम्	बना

राजसु अधिकृतम् अधिराजम् में विभक्त्यर्थ में समास होकर शेष सब कार्य पूर्ववत् हुए हैं ।टच् को समास का अवयव मानने से शेष पूर्ववत् ही लाभ है ।

Figure 3 : Example from *Aṣṭādhyāyībhāṣyaprathamāvṛtti*

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In both these derivations, we observe that the *samāsānta-pratyaya ṭac* is added only after deciding the order of the components. Brahmadatta Jijñāsu adds the following note: *uparāja* gets the designation *avyayībhāva*. But since *ṬaC* is a part of the compound, *uparāja* followed by *ṬaC* will get the designation *avyayībhāva*.[20] This note intrigued us, and made us look at the original commentaries. There are differences of opinion regarding the order of operations shown in Figure 1, especially with reference to the deletion of case suffixes and addition of a *samāsānta* elements. In the following sections we will discuss the arguments in favour and against the two questions:

1. When should case suffixes be elided?
   Should they be elided before assigning the label *upasarjana* or after?
2. At what stage should the *samāsānta* element be introduced?
   Should we introduce it at the beginning of the compound formation process or after deciding the order of the components?

4 WHEN SHOULD CASE SUFFIXES BE ELIDED?

If one deletes case suffixes before assigning the label *upasarjana*, it poses a problem in several cases. The designator of a word in nominative case in the governing rule, which sanctions the compound formation and decides the compound type, is the one which gets the label *upasarjana*. So when a governing rule has a nominative word indicating a case suffix, say X, that component in the *alaukikavigraha* which has the case suffix 'X' will get the label *upasarjana*. If this case suffix is deleted from the *alaukikavigraha*, then there is no room to assign the *upasarjana* label. We illustrate this with an example.

Consider the *alaukikavigraha rājan + Nas puruṣa + sU*. The governing *sūtra*, in this case, for compound formation is *ṣaṣṭhī* (A2.2.8). The *sūtra prathamānirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam* (A1.2.43) says that in the *sūtra* providing for the formation of a compound (*samāsa vidhāyakasūtra*), the referent of the

20. अव्ययीभाव संज्ञा उपराज की तो है ही; किन्तु टच् प्रत्यय के समास के अवयव होने के कारण टच् सहित उपराज अव्ययीभाव कहलाया। अतः नाव्ययीभावादतो० (२.४.८३) के अ कारान्त अव्ययीभाव मानकर सु को अम् हो गया। - *Aṣṭādhyāyībhāṣyaprathamāvṛtti* by Brahmadatta Jijñāsu

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word in nominative case in the *sūtra* will get designated as *upasarjana*. Now in the *sūtra ṣaṣṭhī* (A2.2.8), there is only one word, and it is in nominative. Hence the word with a genetive ending (*ṣaṣṭhī vibhakti*) in the *alaukikavigraha* viz. *rājan + Ṅas* gets designated as *upasarjana*.

Now if the case suffix is deleted first, then in the absence of a genitive case marker, it is not possible to assign *rājan* the label *upasarjana*. In such a situation, with the help of a *sūtra pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* (A1.1.62)('an operation conditioned by an affix applies even if the affix has been replaced by zero[21]'), one can still assign it the label *upasarjana* even after the deletion of a nominal ending (*subluk*). See for example, Figure 2. There is no blocking (*bādhyabādhakabhāva*) between the two operations - *subluk* and assigning the label *upasarjana*.

However, as is evident from this discussion even if there is no *bādhya-bādhakabhāva*, in order to designate a label *upasarjana* after the deletion of case suffixes, one needs to invoke another *sūtra*, *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* (A1.1.62). Thus there is an extra effort involved in the process leading to prolixity (*gaurava*). If we first designate the word with a label *upasarjana* based on the case suffix and then we delete it, we need not invoke *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* (A1.1.62). This results in brevity (*lāghava*).

5 AT WHAT STAGE SHOULD THE SAMĀSĀNTA ELEMENT BE ADDED?

Pāṇini introduced 20 entities called *samāsānta* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* from *samāsāntāḥ* (A5.4.68) to *niṣpravāṇiśca* (A5.4.160). They are: *ḌaC, a, aC, ahnādeśa, ṬaC, ṢaC, Ṣa, aP, aC, asIC, anIC, iC, jñu, anAṄ, niṄ, it, lopa, datṛ, hṛt*, and *kaP*.

The *sūtra samāsāntāḥ* (A5.4.68) says that "The *taddhita* affix[22] introduced, henceforth, occurs at the end (*anta*) of a nominal stem termed compound (*samāsa*)"[23].

21. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, Sharma: 2000 : II : 63
22. It is appropriate to call it an element rather than affix, since in some cases it represents a replacement.
23. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, Sharma : 2000 : IV : 704

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In what follows we will first state Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's position, where he treats *samāsānta* element sometimes as a terminating part of a compound and sometimes as a terminating part of the second component. We will argue that Bhaṭṭoji's treatment is faulty providing evidence from *Mahābhāṣya*, and also a supportive commentary by Nāgeśa.

1 Bhaṭṭoji on *samāsānta*

In the *Prauḍhamanoramā*, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita writes

> *Samāsāntā iti | Samāsasya samāṣārthottarapadasya vā caramāvayava ityarthaḥ | tenopaśaradamityatra "nāvyayībhāvāt" (A2.4.83) ityam, dvipurītyādau "dvigoḥ" (A4.1.21) iti ṅīp ca sidhyati|*

According to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the *samāsānta* suffix can be either the terminating part of the complete analytical paraphrase or of the *uttarapada* of the *samāsa*. According to him, there are cases in which one needs to treat the *samāsānta* suffix as a part of the analytical paraphrase and cases where one needs to consider the *samāsānta* suffix as a part of an *uttarapada*. We explain both these cases with an example each.

Consider the formation of the compound *upaśaradam*.

Example 1:

alaukikavigrahaḥ : *śarad - Ṅas upa*

samāsāntaḥ : *śarad - Ṅas upa [Ṭ]a[C]*[24]

Here the whole expression gets the label *samāsa*.

prātipadikasaṁjñā : *śarad - Ṅas upa a*, now it gets the label *prātipadika*[25]

upasarjanasaṁjñā : *śarad - Ṅas* upa[26] *a*, *upa* gets the label *upasarjana*

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24. *avyayībhāve śaratprabhṛtibhyaḥ* (A5.4.107)
25. *kṛttaddhitasamasāśca* (A1.2.46)
26. *prathamānirdiṣṭam samāsa upasarjanam* (A1.2.43)

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pūrvanipātaḥ : *upa*[27] *śarad + Ṅas a*

subluk : *upa śarad a*[28]

sandhikāryam : *upaśarada*

liṅganirdhāraṇam : *upaśarada*, neuter gender[29]

vibhaktikāryam : *upaśarada +sU → upaśarada+ am*, due to the replacement of *sU* by *am*[30]. *upaśarada+ am → upaśaradam*[31]

Now we look at another example, which Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita used to show the necessity of considering *samāsānta*suffix as a part of an *uttarapada.* The example is generation of the compound *dvipurī.*

Example 2:

alaukikavigrahaḥ : *dvi + os pur + os*

samāsāntaḥ : [*dvi + os* (*pur + os*] *a*[32])[33]

prātipadikasaṁjñā : [*dvi + os* (*pur + os*] *a*)[34]

upasarjanasaṁjñā : [*dvi + os*[35] (*pur + os*] *a*)

pūrvanipātaḥ : [*dvi + os*[36] (*pur + os*]*a*)

subluk[37] : [*dvi* (*pur*] *a*)

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27. *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* (A2.2.30)
28. *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* (A2.4.71)
29. *avyayībhāvaśca* (A2.4.18)
30. *nāvyayībhāvādato'mtvapañcamyāḥ* (A2.4.83)
31. *ami pūrvaḥ* (A6.1.107)
32. *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ pathāmānakṣe* (A5.4.74)
33. We have marked the expression that gets *samāsasaṁjñā* by [ ] and an expression in () is the *uttarapada.* Note here that *a* of the *samāsānta* suffix is now part of the *uttarapada* but not of the *samāsa.*
34. *kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca* (A1.2.46)
35. *prathamānirdiṣṭam samāsa upasarjanam* (A1.2.43)
36. *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* (A2.2.30)
37. *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* (A2.4.71)

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sandhikāryam :[*dvi*(*pur*] *a*)

liṅganirdhāraṇam : [*dvi*(*pur*] *a*), feminine gender

vibhaktikāryam : [*dvi*(*pur*] *a*) → *dvipura* + *ṅīp* → *dvipurī*.

In this example the *samāsānta* suffix *a* is a part of an *uttarapada*. Hence by the *vārttika akārāntottarapado dviguḥ striyām bhāṣyataḥ iti vaktavyam*[38] the feminine suffix will be added to the entire compound. The *vārttika* says that in a *dvigu* compound if the *uttarapada* is a *prātipadika* ending in *a* then the feminine suffix *ṅīp* is added to the compound.

From these two examples, it is clear that in one example, to arrive at the desired form one has to accept a *samāsānta* suffix as a part of the *alaukikavigraha* while in the other, as a part of the *uttarapada*.

2 Patañjali on *samāsānta*

If we look at Patañjali's commentary, then it is clear that he subscribes to only the first view viz. that the *samāsānta* suffix is a part of complete *alaukikavigraha*, and not the *uttarapada*. The discussion on the status of *samāsānta* elements in *Mahābhāṣya* appears under the commentary of the *sūtra gostriyorupasarjanasya* (A1.2.48) ('The final long vowel of a *prātipadika*) ending in a word '*go*' or a feminine suffix (at the end of a word which occur) as '*upasarjana*' (gets shortened').

The part of the commentary relevant for our purpose is stated below

(692 Quoted Objection (*akṣepavārttikam*)

kapi ca **4**

kapi ca pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ bahukumārikaḥ bahuvṛṣalīkaḥ

Tr: In the case of *kap* also the prohibition (of the shortening of the final long vowel) be stated, (as in the case of) *bahukumārīkaḥ, bahuvṛṣalīkaḥ*.

Note: During the process of compound formation *bahu* + *Jas kumārī* + *Jas* there is a possibility of the introduction of a *samāsānta* suffix *kaP*, by the *sūtra nadyṛtaśca* (A5.4.153). There is also a possibility of the shortening of the final

38. MBh A2.4.30 (II.480.6)

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vowel *ī*, by the *sūtra gostriyorupasarjanasya* (A1.2.48). However, in the presence of *kap* vowel shortening in such cases should be prohibited. On this *Bhāṣyakāra* comments

(694 Quoted Answer (*sāmādhānavārttikam*))

uktam vā | kimuktam? | kapi tāvaduktaṁ - "na kapi" iti pratiṣedhaḥ - iti |

(nirākaraṇabhāṣyam)

naitadastyuktam | ke'ṇaḥ iti yā hrasvaprāptistasyāḥ pratiṣedha iti | kuta etat? | anantarasya vidhirvā bhavati pratiṣedho vā iti ||

avaśyaṃ caitadevaṃ vijñeyam | yo hi manyate yā ca yāvatī va hrasvaprāptistasyāḥ sarvasyāḥ pratiṣedha iti, ihāpi tasya pratiṣedhaḥ prasajyeta - priyaṃ grāmaṇi brāḥmaṇa kulamasya priyagrāmaṇikaḥ, priyasenānikaḥ ||

Tr: It (The prohibition of the vowel shortening in the above mentioned cases) is already mentioned. What is mentioned? *na kapi* (A7.4.14), states the prohibition (of shortening of the final long vowel, when it is followed by a suffix *kap*). It (the prohibition of in the presence of the affix *kap*) is not stated. The prohibition of the vowel shortening that is possible due to the *sūtra ke'ṇaḥ* (A7.4.13) is stated. On what basis? A rule either prescribes or prohibits only that which is nearest to it. This should definitely be accepted. (Otherwise) If one accepts the applicability of the shortening of the vowel at all places then in the example *priyagrāmaṇikaḥ* also the prohibition would be affected. The paraphrase of *priyagrāmaṇikaḥ* is *priyaṃgrāmaṇi brāhmaṇakulam asya*. The component *grāmaṇi* in the paraphrase is neuter because of the coreferential word *brāhmaṇakulam*. Hence, the short vowel replacement that could apply here is by *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya* (A1.2.47).

Note: Here the argument is that, there is no necessity of the *vārttika* ***'kapi ca'***, on the ground that the *sūtra* *'na kapi'* (A7.4.14) already provides such a prohibition. But this argument is ruled out on the ground that the prohibition or prescription is always with respect to the nearest rule, and thus *'na kapi'* (A7.4.14) prohibits its previous rule *ke'ṇaḥ* (A7.4.13) and not any *sutra*. If it were not so,

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then '*na kapi*' (A7.4.14) would have prohibited the shortening of the long vowel in the case of *priyagrāmaṇikaḥ* as well. But as we notice that the shortening of the vowel does not happen in *priyagrāmaṇikaḥ*, one must accept that *na kapi* (A7.4.14) prohibits only *ke'ṇaḥ* (A7.4.13) and as such, we do require the *vārttika* '***kapi ca***'.

Now *Bhāṣyakāra* presents another argument against the necessity of the *vārttika*. The argument goes like this

(uktyantarabhāṣyam)
idaṃ tarhyuktam - 'kapi kṛte anantyatvād hrasvatvaṃ na bhaviṣyati' idamiha saṃpradhāryaṃ kap kriyatāṃ, hrasvatvamiti kimatra kartavyaṃ? paratvāt kap antaraṅgaṃ hrasvatvam antaraṅgataraḥ kap

Tr: Then one may state this: after the addition of *kap* suffix the long vowel would not be in the final position and hence, there is no possibility of its shortening. Here it is to be decided: introduction of *kap* suffix or the shortening of the final vowel? Which one will take precedence? (Since the *sūtra* introducing *kap nadyṛtaśca* (A5.4.153) is later in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* than the *sūtra gostriyorupasarjanasya* (A1.2.48) resulting in the vowel shortening, following *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* (A1.4.2)) *kap* should be introduced first. (On the other hand,) the vowel shortening operation is internally conditioned. (Following the *paribhāṣā asiddham bahiraṅgamantaraṅge* vowel shortening takes precedence). (The introduction of the suffix) *kap* is intensly internally conditioned (*antaraṅgatara = prakarṣeṇa antaraṅga*). But this kap is called a *samāsānta*. (Thus it is externally conditioned. How can it be intensly internally conditioned?)

Objection *(ākṣepabhāṣyam)*

na cāyaṃ kap samāsanta ityucyate

Objection Rejected *(ākṣepabādhakabhāṣyam)*

tādarthyāttācchabdyaṁ bhaviṣyati yeṣām padānām samāsaḥ na tāvatteṣāmanyadbhavati kapaṃ tāvat pratīkṣate

The maxim is 'the use of a word x (to refer to y) on account of (y), being for

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the sake of the item denoted by x. The *alaukikavigraha* which is going to get a label *samāsa* will not undergo any operation till the *samāsānta* affix (in this case *kap*) is introduced.

Note: Here the basic argument is after the introduction of the affix *kap* the long vowel is no longer the final one, and hence there would not be shortening of the long vowel, and hence there is no need to state the *vārttika* ***kapi ca***. But then the main question is on what basis the conflict between the introduction of *kap* and the shortening of vowel is resolved? The introduction of *kap* is by the *sūtra nadyṛtaśca* (A5.4.153), while the shortening of the long vowel is by the *sūtra gostriyorupasarjanasya* (A1.2.48), and hence on the basis of *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* (A1.4.2) the introduction of *kap* is preferred over the vowel shortening. However there is another way of resolving the conflict, based on the conditions causing the operations. On this basis, the vowel shortening being internally conditioned should take precedence over the introduction of the *samāsānta* affix which is externally conditioned. However, *Bhāṣyakāra* argues that the introduction of *samāsānta* affix is not externally conditioned, rather it is intensly internally conditioned. In support of this he quotes a maxim *tādarthyāttācchabdyaṁ bhaviṣyati*. The word *samāsa* in *samāsānta* refers to the *alaukikavigrahavākya* which is going to get a label *samāsa*. And till the *samāsānta* affix is introduced (at the end of the *samāsa* which refers to *alaukikavigraha*) other operations pertaining to compound formation will not take place. Therefore the introduction of *samāsānta* is intensly internally conditioned, and only after this other operations will resume.

On this *Udyotakāra* Nageśa comments as :

> *samāsaśabdena tadarthamuttarapadaṁ lakṣyata iti bhāva iti kaścit vastutastu samāsārthaṁ. vigrahavākyam lakṣyata iti bhāṣyāśayastathaivānyatra dṛṣṭatvāt*[39]

Tr: Some argue that the term *samāsa* in the *sūtra samāsāntāḥ* refers to the subsequent component. However, in reality, the intension of the *Bhāṣyakāra* as observed at other places is that the term *samāsa* refers to the *alaukikavigrahavākya*.

39. MBh A1.2.48 (I.57)

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Similarly, in the commentary on the *Prauḍhamanoramā*, we note the following observation under the commentary on *samāsāntāḥ* (A5.4.68).

> *evañcālaukikavigrahavākye samāsasaṁjñā samakālameva samāsānta iti siddhāntaḥ*[40] |

Tr: Therefore the finally established opinion is in the *alaukikavigrahavākya* the introduction of *samāsānta* affix and the assignment of the label *samāsa* take place simultaneously.

6 CONCLUSION

Based on the above discussions we conclude that the *samāsānta* suffix is a part of an analytical paraphrase (*alaukikavigraha*) only, and the *alaukikavigraha* along with the *samāsānta* suffix gets the designation *samāsa*. Dīkṣita's view on *samāsānta* suffix as a part of aṅ *uttarapada* is not acceptable. The reason being lack of any evidence (*pramāṇa*) that tells us the word *samāsa* in *samāsānta* as an *uttarapada*. Dīkṣita has extended the meaning of the word *samāsa* in *samāsānta* as an *uttarapada* by *lakṣaṇā* to explain the correct forms such as *dvipurī, dvidhurī* etc. In the *Mahābhāṣya*, nowhere do we find any support for this explanation. Now one may wonder, what does Patañjali has to say about the forms such as *dvipurī* etc. Patañjali rejects the *vārttika akārāntottarapado dviguḥ striyām bhāṣyataḥ iti vaktavyam*, because in the *sūtra dvigoḥ* (A4.1.21) he says that the feminine suffix is added to the entire *dvigu* compound ending in *a*. So, there is no need to consider the suffix *a* to be part of an *uttarapada* following the *vārttika*. In conclusion, the *samāsānta* suffix is a part of the analytical paraphrase only.

Thus the generation process of the compounds, which is inferred from the traditional commentators viz. Patañjali and Nageśa, starts with the *alaukikavigraha*, then *samāsāntā* suffix is added to it. The whole string now gets the designation *samāsa* and such a *samāsa* gets the designation *prātipadika*. This is followed by the *aluk* related operations(in case of *aluk* compounds). Then assignment of the label *upasarjana* and consequent placement as prior or subsequent constituent take place. At this point, entities called *samāsānta* come into effect. There follow

40 PMa (A5.4.68) (I:578)

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operations on prior constituents *pūrvapadākārya*, subsequent constituents *uttarapadakārya*, word operations *padakārya*, and phonological operations that apply at junctures *sandhikārya*; finally, the gender, number and accent of the newly formed lexeme are decided and an appropriate case ending is added to get the compound. Figure 4 shows this process of the generation of Sanskrit compounds. This process has been implemented computationally, and the software is available for access at http://sanskrit.uohyd.ac.in/scl → tools → Compound Generation

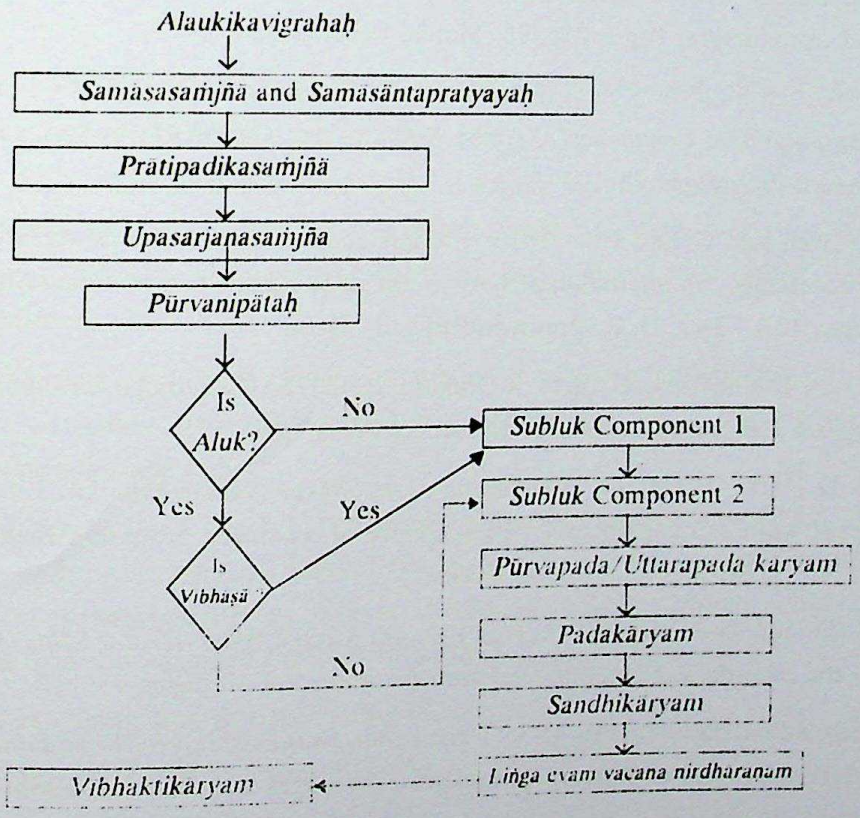

Figure 4 : Process of Compound Generation (2)

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF WESTERN SCHOLARS TO KANNADA LINGUISTICS

Meti Mallikarjun*

This write up aims merely at introduction of western scholars' contribution towards Dravidian linguistics, especially, Kannada linguistics. The debate on colonial impact on Indian cultures and lives is still going on, however, in this context, the colonial impact, in fact, is taken for granted in order to understand the westerns' contributions to the development of Indian linguistics (i.e. kannada).Therefore, I would like to introduce some of the western scholars who have laid foundation for the modern thinking, perspective and systematic approaches for looking at languages in order to substantiate their native / structural entities. The history of Indian languages which forms an integral part of history of general linguistics in general and in particular, as Dravidian linguistics in India traces back to some where in the first millennium B C, the first attempt was made by Mesopotamia, in old Babylonian times around 1600 B C (Jacobson:1974). Now we study the history of kannada linguistics, of course, in order to understand the contributions which are made by western scholars towards the development of kannada language and linguistics during the colonial and post-colonial periods, the interest which being shown by western linguists. There was time, once Indian grammatical tradition means it is nothing but Sanskrit grammatical tradition but, now this attitude has changed because of western scholars' intervene, at the same time, Tholkopiam a old Tamil grammar proved that there is a different form of grammatical tradition from Sanskrit grammar in India or Indian grammatical tradition. There fore, the contributions of Christian missionaries to the development of Indian languages have great value. These missionaries laid foundation for the

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* Sahyadri Arts College Kuvempu University, Shimoga.
Email : meti.mallikarjun@gmail.com

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scientific and systematic study of Indian languages and literature. That is how; the contributions of western scholars have become very evident to understand the development of modern linguistics in the context of Kannada / any other in Dravidian languages. The systematic establishment of history of Kannada linguistics and literature has become for two major reasons; 1. political and 2. religion by the missionaries to strengthen their control over the common peoples' live and culture. To do so, the missionaries tried at best to trace the origin, attitude and development of history of Kannada language and literature. As a result, ancient literature and language has become known and construction of history took place.

The contribution of the Christian missionaries to the process and modernization of Indian languages is a well-acknowledge fact which no serious student or researcher of Indian languages can afford to ignore. In addition to their missionary work, many scholar-priests devoted their lifetime to the study Indian languages, literature, and culture, left many monumental works for the future generations, and paved the way for language and development.

ROBERT CALDWELL (1814- 1891)

Of the many western intellectuals who served for the advancement of the dravidian languages, Bishop Dr Robert Caldwell stands fore most.

Bishop Robert Caldwell was born in a little village in Ireland. A few years after his birth, his parents returned to scotland their mother country and started life in the city of Glasgow. Till his sixteenth year, he lived with his parents and had his education. Later he joined an arts school in the neighbourhood and became an artist and won prizes. However, he was not satisfied with this profession; eager to serve God, he joined the London Missionary Society as a valunteer in his twentieth year. With its help, he studied in the Glosgow Universitry and obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

While he was a student, the study of languages was highly praised in Europe. The idea that by studying languages, one could know many facts in the history and life of people, find a place in the hearts of learned men. It was then that research in languages was done in a systematic way. In those days, the Germans

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advance in this department. Experts in this department were rare in English Universities. But Sir Daniel Sandford, the Professor of Greek in Glasgow University was an authority in comparative philology and induced his students and helped them to study the good qualities of other languages. Caldwell, who was naturally interested in this department, decided to serve the department if he gets a chance through the goodwill of this professor.

After his university education in 1837, Caldwell was selected by the London Missionary Society and sent to south India for doing religious work. While coming to India, on the way he met a person in the ship who became friendly, he was Charles Philip Brown who was the renowned scholar in Telugu. With his help, Caldwell was able to understand the important aspects of Sanskrit and Telugu.

BISHOP ROBERT CALDWELL: A Pioneer in Dravidian Linguistics

Bishop Robert Caldwell (1814-1891), author of 'A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages' was a missionary who came to India as a member of the London Missionary Society. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar on Dravidian languages established the Dravidian as an independent family of languages. It proves that these languages are genetically different from Sanskrit and other Indo- Aryan tongues. When thoughts like 'South Indian Languages are interrelated', they did not emerge from Sanskrit and so on are substantiated by systematic analysis and investigation of Dravidian languages by Robert Caldwell. Because, there was a notion among traditional grammarians of India and abroad that "All Dravidian languages were emerged from Sanskrit and fit it". Though, even before Caldwell, scholars like Rasmus Rask, Francis Ellis Whyte and Max Muller did point out that the Dravidian was an independent family, it was Caldwell's work that established this beyond doubt and brought this to the attention of scholars all over the world. Characterized by a scientific approach, a large wealth of language data, widest possible coverage and intimate knowledge of the Dravidian languages, his comparative grammar won instant recognition and approval of scholars. This, the wake of Caldwell brought about a fundamental and revolutionary paradigm shift in the study of Indian languages, especially, of Dravidian languages. The belief that Sanskrit was the mother of Indian languages was shattered. Caldwell proved beyond doubt that language

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like Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Tulu etc are structurally different, and belong to a different family of languages. In addition, this work stimulated wide interest in Dravidian languages, and Dravidian studies emerged as a specialized field of knowledge. Caldwell is deservedly called the father of Dravidology. Nearly 150 years after its first publication, his comparative grammar continues to be the most consulted and studied work in Dravidian linguistics.

Bishop Robert Caldwell contributed a lot to Tamil both in language and literature, where as, it is less, comparatively Tamil to other Dravidian languages, of course, it is a great contribution, one can not deny it. However, it is necessary to present some of the important aspects of and about monumental works of Caldwell, viz A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian or South Indian Languages.

After 16 years of religious work, Caldwell left for England in 1854 and stayed there for 16 months during which period he wrote the Comparative Grammar. Even during these 16 months, he was immersed in religious work and the monumental Comparative Grammar was finished in a very short time. In recognition of this great research work, the Glasgow University conferred on him an LLD degree. In 1873, Caldwell returned to England for the second time and stayed for two years. During this time, he revised his book adding the material that he had collected during the 19 years since its first publication. The second (revised) edition was published in 1857. Towards the end of his life, due to failing health, Caldwell retired from active religious service and settled at Kodaikanal where he built a church in 1886. He had been ordained as Bishop in 1877. 'History of Tirunelveli District', Caldwell's another great contribution to the south Indian studies was published in 1881

A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages is a monumental work touching on such diverse aspects as the antiquity of the Dravidian family, affinities of the Dravidian family, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian relations, phonology, morphology and syntax of Dravidian elements in Indo-Aryan speeches and Dravidian loan words in Sanskrit. Caldwell knew intuitively many linguistic principles formulated much later by modern linguists. His suggestions on etymology of numerals is remarkably close to the conclusions reached years after by Morris Swadesh who made a sweeping study of the

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homothetic aspects of languages. While Caldwell provides detailed evidence for the antiquity and Independence of the Dravidian family, he is extremely objective in his statements and seeks to glorify his subject of study. Majority of Caldwell's insights into the structure and affinities of the Dravidian were corroborated by the evidence from later linguistic research.

In the introduction to his work, Caldwell discusses the origin use of the term Dravidian that came to be the accepted name of the language family after Caldwell's use of it. Before this, the languages were called Tamilian or south Indian languages. Following this, Caldwell enumerated the Dravidian languages known during his time. This included six cultivated languages and six tribal languages. *Tamil, Kannada* (canarese), *Telugu, Malayalam, Tulu, and Kodagu (Coorgi)* are listed by Caldwell as cultivated languages. *ToDa, Kota, Gond, KhonD, Rajmahal (Malto)* etc are the tribal speeches listed by him. He also knew about the Dravidian elements, which found in *Brahui,* but has not included this language in his language list.

Based on the comparative study of sixty words, comprising the basic vocabulary of Sanskrit and Dravidian, Caldwell for once and all proved that the Dravidian languages are not related to Sanskrit. Dravidian-Scythian relations, antiquity of *Tamil* and Dravidian-Indo-Aryan relations are the other topics discussed by him in his introduction.

In the first part following the introduction, Caldwell describes the alphabets and phonology of Dravidian. The three types of scripts in vague in South Indian and the relation with North-Indian scripts are elaborated. The phonemes found in Dravidian, their variations in different contexts and borrowal of cerebral sounds into Sanskrit are also discussed. In section 2, the agglutinative characters of Dravidian and on analysis of verbal and nominal roots of Dravidian are attempted. In section 3, the noun, gender, number, and cases of Dravidian, adjectives and their derivation from nominals are analyzed. Section 4 deals with numerals, section 5 deals with pronouns, section six deals with verb. In the last section, glossarial affinities of Dravidian are discussed.

Caldwell has explicitly stated that the comparative study of a family of

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languages is the study of 'comparison of the grammatical principles and forms of the various Dravidian languages in the hope of contributing to more thorough knowledge of (a) their primitive structure and (b) distinctive character'. This is first study in which Caldwell has compared Dravidian languages with other family of languages of Asia and Europe to establish the distinctive character of the Dravidian languages.

A Bibliography of Caldwell's Books (Related to only Kannada).

Caldwell, R. 1856 (rep. 1961). ***A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages.*** Madras: University of Madras.

REV. F. KITTEL (1832- 1903)

Rev.F.Kittel was a protestant Christian born at Rooster Hape in North-West Germany on April 7 1832 as a son of church official. After his school education, he went to Switzerland where he entered the services of Basel mission. At the young age of 21, he came to Dharwar as a missionary in 1853. In addition, later on he moved to Mangalore. Nothing much is known about his early years in Karnataka and about his study of Kannada language and literature. However, within 20 years, Kittel acquired mastery over Kannada, in addition to proficiency in Sanskrit, Persian, Tamil, Konkani and Marathi. In addition, he worked in various places like Dharwar, Hubli, Anandapura, Mangalore and Mercara. It was Mercara where he spent most of his stay, as the weather was suited him. During the first twenty years of his stay, he learnt Kannada, Sanskrit, Marathi, Tamil, Konkani and Persian. During this particular period, like other Missionaries, Kittel wrote books on Bible literature and school textbooks. His Bible literature covers translations of Bible, poems composed by him on the Bible, Bible stories and other religious literature. Among school textbooks, his Kannada grammar, school dictionaries, Kannada poems, history books and books on Carnatic music, are important and those were published at the request of the department of public instruction, Government of Madras.

Rev. F. Kittel, though a Missionary like others in the beginning working towards Christianity, later on , he did not study the language, culture and society of region only to achieve his Missionary goal. Rather he developed great interest

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and love for the Kannada language and people of Karnataka. He made in depth study of the ancient manuscripts and classics written by ancient Kannada scholars. He involved himself with the natives to understand their day-to-day language, culture, religion and traditions intimately. As a result, he was published many research and creative works in relation with linguistics and literature.

Kittel's work and its impact on Dravidology:

Kittel made good use of his assignments: from 1860's he started publishing extensively, including a considerable number of articles in research journals likes the Indian Antiquary and the Journal of the German Oriental Society. He also authored a large number of Christian tracts and textbooks (see bibliography). From the beginning of the 1870, Kittel had plans to write other Kannada grammar and dictionary, and from 1877 onwards, he devoted himself to this task exclusively. These works substantiate Kittel's linguistic and literary talents in Kannada language.

Rev. F. Kittel's most significant writings on Kannada language are:

1. *"Nagavarmana Chandhassu"* (i.e. that Nagavarma's 'Canarese Prosody'). It is the 'Naagavarma's Chhandoombudhi' a Kannada text on prosody was published by him with an elaborate introduction containing a historical out-line of Kannada literature.

2. Kittel is another significant work on Keeshiraaja's *Shabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (1872), the most authentic classical grammar of Kannada. He edited this classical grammar by giving English interpretation and illustrations to every *'sūtra'* of *Shabdamaṇidarpaṇa* wherever it is necessary.

Kittel published his magnum opus, the Kannada-English Dictionary in 1894 after twenty years of meticulous work. In addition, Kittel became an authoritative on grammar and dictionary, which paved the way for the standardization and modernization of the Kannada grammar. Kittel collected the material for this Kannada-English Dictionary from 1871 to 1877 living in Karnataka. For this compilation of Kannada-English Dictionary, Kittel has used 18 literary works of old Kannada, 18 of middle Kannada, 4 of modern Kannada, 5 Dravidian dictionaries, 4 Sanskrit dictionaries, 1Marathi dictionary for the collection of

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lexical data and illustrations (M.Bhat:1984). At the same time, Kittel has collected various colloquial forms, idioms, regional forms, usages, citations, proverbs and possible senses of a given lexical item. Kittel might have been courageous to take up the project of bilingual dictionary mainly because he had a comprehensive understanding not only of the structure and function of Kannada, but also the syntactic and semantic (including select ional restrictions) lexical formative in these languages.

A voluminous work of 1,762 pages was published in 1894; it is also a treasury of Kannada idioms and proverbs (*nudigattu* and *gaade*). Another important feature of this dictionary is the use of thick fonts for native *(deśya)* Kannada words of Dravidian origin and thin font for the words borrowed from Sanskrit and other sources. The utility of such a method followed by Kittel for researchers as well as common people is quite evident. Kittel tried to examine and write every word himself (1894: XXii) in to decide on distinctions he followed only trust-worthy and authentic manuscripts. Meanings given by the ancient and modern native writers were properly assessed and represented suitably, interestingly, Kittel states, the compiler's aim has been to raise his work, as far as possible to the level of modern scholarship, avoiding the creation of such difficulties as can not easily be overcome by intelligent beginners' (1894:XXV). Kittel tried to give good care of loan words borrowed by Sanskrit from Kannada and vice versa (1894: XXXI-LXIII). In this dictionary, cross-references have been given for variant forms. Moreover, cognates in other Dravidian languages are given after the meaning of the word in English. Similarly, all *'tadbhavas'* were related to their Sanskrit origins and words of English language commonly used in Kannada are treated. Words of non-Dravidian origin have also been traced to their source. At the same time, all these special features, this made it an outstanding work of Rev. F. Kittel.

It is interesting to note that Kittel was both lexicographer and grammarian. In fact, there seems to be logic about it. His interest to become both will have to be appreciated in the light of a mutual dependence or inter-dependence of 'lexicon' and 'grammar' which is of first class importance (Zgusta:1971:18) in modern theoretical thinking in linguistics, especially in transformational grammar. More

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than grammar lexicography is an activity in which tradition plays a great role (Zgusta: 1971:18). There fore, Rev. F. Kittel could able to bring a grammar on Kannada in 1903 entitled *'A Grammar of the Kannada Language'*- this present volume of grammar is chiefly based on Keeshiraaja's Shabdamaṇidarpaṇa, the terminology of this his grammar is simple, and fit for the three dialects of Kannada viz ancient, medieval and modern. At the same time, Kittel's reliance on the ancient, medieval and modern dialects of Kannada in his grammar is indicative of his intentions on historical validation (Andrewskutty: 1998). Other than the above-discussed works, there are some more significant works and research papers on epigraphy, manuscripts, literature, *Granthsampaadane*, culture, language and society, most of which appeared in the journals 'Indian Antiquary' and other various Indian and German news papers and magazines.

The following list of works of Rev.F.Kittel can witness the outstanding contributions to the Kannada language and literature. Writings by Rev.F.Kittel lists 63 including both books and articles, these books and articles can be classified in different headings to the subject and content.

1) Bible and other writings
2) Coorgs, their language, social customs and superstitions
3) Dravidian language;
    a) Meaning and derivation of certain Dravidian words
    b) Dravidian numerals.
    c) Transcription of Dravidian scripts
    d) Dravidian philology
4) Indian prosody and poetry
5) Inscriptions
6) Kannada language
    a) Kannada Dictionary
    b) Kannada Grammar
    c) Kannada Teaching
    d) Kannada literature

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7) Karnataka music
8) Lingayata literature
9) School textbooks
10) Translations
11) Rev.F.Kittel's writings in newspapers and literary magazines.

Kittel's contributions to Kannada are great in many other respects. He was an able scholar to do a lot of work in the area of linguistics, literature, theology, culture, and society.

EMENEAU M. B. (1904-)

Prof. Murry Barnson Emeneau (1904-) is an outstanding and a renowned scholar in the field of Dravidian studies, Sanskrit and general linguistics. He was born in Canada on Feb. 28th, 1904. Prof. Emeneau completed his 100th year on Feb.2004. Prof. Emeneau, through his extremely varied and prolific studies and writings on Dravidian studies, Sanskrit, general linguistics as well and pioneering field work on unrecorded tribal speeches, Emeneau became one of well known indologists of previous and present century. The name of Prof. M.B.Emeneau is now synonymous with the concept of the great linguistic convergence that defines south Asia (U. N. Singh : 2004).

Prof. Emeneau received a B.A. from the Dalhousie University, Halifax in 1923 and one from Oxford as Rhodes Scholar in 1926. He studied Sanskrit, Latin and Greek for his Bachelor degree courses and studied under eminent scholars like Franklin and Edgerton and Edger H. Sturtevant. He took an M.A. from Oxford in1931 and PhD from Yale University in 1935. From 1931-1935, he studied Linguistics and Anthropology under Edward Sapir, a pioneer scholar of modern linguistics. Prof Emeneau started out as a Sanskritist and for his Ph.D; he edited "*Vetālapañcaviṁśatī*", a Sanskrit work. Emeneau taught Latin (1926-1931) and Anthropology (1938-1939) at the Yale University, and then Sanskrit and general linguistics at the University of California, Berkley (1940-1946). From 1946 onwards, he was a full Professor and also the Chair of the Department of Linguistics (1953-1959) as well as Department of Classics. Emeneau continued teaching there until 1971. After 1971, Emeneau was made Professor Emeritus

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of Sanskrit and general linguistics, and he also served as president of the linguistic society of America in 1949.

Professor M. B. Emeneau's Contribution and Achievements:

Prof. Emeneau is an exemplary scholar in a number of disciplines-Anthropology, Indology and Linguistics. He is also been among a rare tribal linguist who works on both on Dravidian as well as on Indo-Aryan languages. It was during 1935-1938 that Emeneau visited India and conducted field work on a number of tribal languages like toDa, koTa, koDagu and kolami for bringing out the research in the areas of comparative Dravidian, Areal linguistics, Ethnography etc. Emeneau's publications include his extensive work on Dravidian linguistics, Sanskrit and India as a linguistic Area are original research. In addition to the volumes such as toDa songs, toDa grammar and texts, koTa texts, kolami: a Dravidian language. More than these work he compiled A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary with T. Burrow (1909-1986), is another outstanding Indologist. In addition, most recently came that Sanskrit studies: selected papers (edited by B.A.Van Nootan), Language and Linguistic area (essays: selected by Anwar S. Dil). Linguists have referred to his paper "India as a Linguistic Area" as a classic paper. A statement by K.R. Norman, his worthy of being recalled here, although the phrase 'linguistic area' is in common use among linguists. It is interesting to note that it was only invented in 1943 by H.V. Velton as a translation of the German term 'sprachbund', and its use did not become wide spread until Emeneau included it in the title of a paper 1956.

In the area of Dravidian linguistics, Emeneau's contributions fall mainly under four categories:

1) The description of non-literary
2) Comparative interpretation of descriptive data of individual languages
3) Comparative Dravidian, involving a comparison of all languages of the Dravidian family.
4) Theoretical work on structural borrowing and linguistic area hypothesis
5) Identifying and reconstructing the etymological resource of all languages of Dravidian family.

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Emeneau's descriptions and interpretations of Dravidian languages served as ideal models for the later generation of linguists. His analysis of Dravidian languages data still remains authentic. On Kannada, Emeneau's the most notable works are; Dravidian etymological dictionary (with T.Burrow), comparative phonology (1977), the south Dravidian languages (1966), Kannada Kamp, Tamil Kampan: Two proper nouns (1983) etc. In addition to that, the monumental work that has a place among the great lexicographic work of the world is an immense contribution to Dravidian studies is A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary: T. Burrow and M.B.Emeneau, reprint 1998, XXIX, 609P, ISBN 81-215-0856-8.

This work is a complete and systematic record of completely available Dravidian vocabulary. It covers four major literary languages viz, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam and some other fourteen minor languages, a considerable amount of material that is here published for the first time. The dictionary is etymologically arranged and the vocabulary is classified into 4572 numbered items. Complete indexes for each language follow. The meanings are given as exhaustively as is practicable in such a work, so that the full range of the application of the each word becomes evident. The dictionary is with some exceptions, confined to the native Dravidian elements to the exclusion of loans from Indo-Aryan. It is the first work of its kind that has been attempted, and it will be an indispensable tool to all those engaged Dravidian linguistics and to the Indian Philology.

A Bibliography of Professor M. B. Emeneau's Books and Papers (Related to only Kannada).

1954: Linguistics Prehistory, PAPS, 98 P 282-92 University of California press

1955: Dialectology and comparative linguistics, University of California press

1955: India and Linguistics, JAOS 75, P 145-215

1956: India as a Linguistic Area, Language 32, P 3-16

1962: Dravidian and Indian Linguistics, University of California press

1962: Bilingualism and Structural Borrowing, PAPS 106, P432-42

1962: An Indo-Iranian areal isogloss in Dravidian and Indian linguistics, University of California press, Berkeley

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1965: India and Historical Grammar, Annamalai University, Tamil Nadu

1965: Diffusion and evolution comparative linguistics, Annamalai University Tamil Nadu No 5 P1-24

1966: The south Dravidian languages, International seminar on Tamil studies, Kuala Lumpur in April 1966

1967: Dravidian Linguistics, Ethnology and Folk tales, collected papers, Annamalai University, Tamil Nadu

1968: Dravidian and Indo-Aryan: The Indian linguistic Area, conference on Dravidian civilization, Austin, Texas-Decb-1968

1969: Onomatopoetic in the Indian linguistic Area, Language-45 P 274-99

1971: Collected Papers, Annamalai University, Tamil Nadu

1971: The Indian linguistic area-symposium

1974: The Indian linguistic area, Revisited, IJDL-3 P92-132

1978: Review of defining a linguistic area: south Asia, Colin P Masica, Language 54

1961: with Thomas Burrow: A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, Oxford

THOMAS BURROW (1909-1986)

Thomas Burrow (1909-1986) was an outstanding scholar of Dravidian and Sanskrit languages, who died on June 8, 1986 at the age of 76. He was boden professor of Sanskrit in the University Oxford from 1944 to 1976 and a distinguished international authority on Dravidian languages of India. Thomas Burrow was born on June 29, 1909 in the village of Leck in North Lancashire. He received his early education at Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Kirkby Lonsdale, from which he won scholarships to Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1927. At Cambridge, he graduated in classics, having specialized in comparative philology, which in itself created a taste for Sanskrit studies and Dravidian languages as well. Prof Thomas Burrow subsequently read for the oriental languages (notably Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrits). Then followed three years of research, one at the school of oriental studies in London, after which he returned to Cambridge. In 1935, he was awarded his doctorate at Cambridge for a thesis on language of the 'KarosThi' documents discovered in central Asia by Sir Aurel Stein earlier in

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the century. From 1935 -1937 he was a research fellow at Christ's College and from 1937-1944, he was Assistant keeper in Dept. of oriental printed books and Manuscripts at the British Museum. There he took up the Dravidian languages with which few Sanskritists have been acquainted. In 1944, he was appointed Boden professor of Sanskrit at Oxford and keeper of Indian instate, a post that carried with it a Fellowship at Balliol. He retired from professorship in 1976 but continued to hold Emeritus Fellowship of Balliol College, Oxford, until his death.

Thomas Burrow's Contribution and Achievements

Prof Thomas Burrow was well known for his extensive work in comparative Dravidian linguistics and Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (DED) in association with M. B. Emeneau, is another renowned scholar in Dravidian studies. He was a scholar of multidirectional specialization within the broad field of language study.

Thomas Burrow's contribution to Kannada (Dravidian studies) is both extensive and erudite. In the field of Dravidian studies, Burrow contributed mainly to three areas:

1. Comparative Dravidian
2. Study of the interrelations between Dravidian and Indo-Aryan and
3. Study and description of tribal speeches

Burrow's major published papers (until 1968) were collected in collected papers on Dravidian Linguistics (1968), published by Annamalai University.

Burrow's one of the major contributions is Dravidian Etymological Dictionary in collaboration with M. B. Emeneau (DED: 1961; DEDs: 1968, DEDR: 1984 and Reprint in 1998). He was so much devoted and engrossed in this monumental work that he could recall, by memory, all the time under any particular etyma from the DED. He has not only planned, organized and executed the publication of these volumes along with his distinguished colleague, but has also incorporated lexical items from his field notes on the non-literary Dravidian languages of central India which inclusion has substantially enhanced the depth of coverage in collaboration with the late S. Bhattacharya. The Dravidian Etymological Dictionary

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is a monumental contribution to Comparative Dravidian Studies. This is an essential tool to any student or researcher of Dravidian, working on any aspect of phonology or grammar of the languages. This work for the first time brought together cognates from most of the Dravidian languages. Collections of cognates from the major four written languages were done in a limited way even earlier to the DED. However, DED attempted a thorough collection of cognates from literary as well as tribal languages and the compilation was much more systematic and scientific than earlier ones. The DED remains the most basic source for Dravidian Comparative Studies. Cognates grouped under 5,557 lemmas (4,572 in the 1961 edition). The arrangement of the etyma groups follows the Tamil alphabets (from vowels to consonants i.e. a, aa, i, ii, u, uu, e, ee, ai, o, oo, au, k, k_, n~, c, n, T, N, t, d, p, m, y, r, l, v, R, L, RR, N). Within each order of the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary is moving from south to north, as well as the sub groupings. The second edition contains, etyma from Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam, Kurak etc. this DED is the out come of twenty years of work by the compilers, other than, the major lexicographic works of the four written languages and grammars, and word-lists of tribal languages.

He published a series of Articles in the Bulletin of the school of oriental (and African) studies, London, under the serial title DRAVIDIAN STUDIES, in this series I-VII dealing with various aspects of Dravidian Phonology, genetic ties, between Dravidian loanwords in Sanskrit. He published two important papers in the transaction of the philological society in 1945 and 1946 formulating and applying a precise methodology for identifying the possible loanwords in Sanskrit. In DRAVIDIAN STUDIES I, II, III, V, VI, Burrow has tackled a number of difficult phonological problems which were either not systematically dealt with or were wrongly formulated earlier. In Dravidian studies I, he established that initial voicing could not be attributed to proto-Dravidian because of the irregular distribution of voiced stop in cognates between Tamil and Kannada on the one hand and Tamil on the other. Thus, he refuted the earlier proposal of Jules Block and Gadavarm. He advanced the following arguments:

1. A large percentage of works in Kannada Telugu beginning with voiced stops have no cognates in Tamil.

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2. Where there are such cognates, Tamil and Malayalam have borrowed these from Kannada or Telugu.
3. Voicing in many individual words in Kannada and Telugu can be shown to secondary.
4. Where the correspondences are ancient, there is fluctuation between voiced and voiceless stops in different languages.

In Dravidian studies II, he attacked the problem of the alterations between i/e and u/o in south Dravidian and could show through internal reconstruction that, not all cases of i/u in Tamil and Malayalam and e/o in Kannada and Telugu were traceable to proto-Dravidian.

WILLIAM BRIGHT (1928-)

William Bright (1928-), a Professor Emeritus of linguistics, University of California, Los Angels, is reputed scholar in the field of Kannada linguistics, sociolinguistics and the languages of North America and South Asia. He edited the influential journal 'Language' for 22 years. The International Encyclopedia of Linguistics and Oxford Studies in Anthropological Linguistics edited by him are two monumental works. An outline of Kannada (1958) is his most important contribution to Kannada linguistics. William Bright presided over the "24th All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists" at Kuppam in 1996.

William Bright was born in Oxnard, California on 1928. He graduated from Oxnard Union High School in 1945 and won competitative four-year college scholarship offered by Pepsi-cola Company. In addition, he entered university of California, Berkeley, as pre-medical student. In 1947, he changed major to Spanish; attended summer school in Mexico City, became interested in Nahualt (Aztec) language. As a result, he started taking linguistic courses at Berkeley with M. B. Emeneau and Mary Haas, switched to individual major in linguistics. In 1949, he completed his B. A. in Linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley. From there he started fieldwork in spring on Karuk language of northwestern California and attended LSA Linguistic Institute in summer at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. In addition, in 1950 he continued fieldwork on Karuk during summer, after that in 1951 he participated in LSA Linguistic

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Institute in summer at Berkeley, passed qualifying examinations for linguistics-doctorate and began writing dissertation on Karuk. William Bright married Elizabeth Hallo Ron in 1952. Moreover, drafted into US Army; assigned to military Intelligence unit in Lohfelden, near Kassel, Germany. He returned to US in 1954 and discharged from Army, subsequently; he continued his work at Berkeley on dissertation and again attended LSA Linguistic Institute in summer at University of Chicago. Due to this, he was awarded his PhD in Linguistics on 'A Grammar of the Karuk Language', Berkeley in 1955. He accepted Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship and came to India for two years to teach linguistics at Decon College, Poona, and to do research on the colloquial variety of the Kannada in Bangalore. At the same time in 1956, he became interested in sociolinguistics through discussion with John Gumperz. In 1957, he returned to US; hired as linguist, school of languages, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of state, Washington, DC where he taught Hindi, Urdu and French. In 1958 Susannah Bright, daughter, born in Arlington, Virginia and he was hired in full as Assistant Professor of speech in the University of California, Berkeley for teaching English to foreign students. At the very next year in 1959, hired as Assistant Professor of Anthropology, VCLA for teaching Linguistics, Hindi, and Anthropology. He also taught Hindi in summer session in 1960 at the University of California, Berkeley. William Bright was promoted to Associate Professor of Anthropology at VCLA in 1962. Again, he continued his fieldwork on Yarok in 1963, taught Anthropology in summer school, University of Colorado, Boulder. At the same time, served one year as chair, committee on the Linguistics program, VCLA served one year as Abstracts editor of International Journal of American Linguistics. In addition, became contributing editor, Hand Book of Latin American Studies until 1966. In the mean time, became Review Editor of 'International Journal of American Linguistics'. In addition, he participated in seminar on Socio-linguistics at summer LSA Linguistic Institute, Indiana University, Bloomington. He also positioned many editorial positions to various journals. In 1967, he was in Central Institute of English, Hyderabad and University of Delhi on Ford Foundation Fellowship. In 1987, he completed his service as editor of 'Language'. Moreover, he retired to status Emeritus Professor of Linguistics and Anthropology in 1988, became President, Linguistic Society of America in 1989 and in 1996, President, DLA,

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more than, in 1997 he initiated Journal, written language and literacy, Benjamin's, Amsterdam.

An Outline of Colloquial Kannada

This work describes Kannada structure taxonomically the Bangalore dialect of Kannada, which is spoken by educated Brahmans. However, it is the first descriptive grammar on Kannada which figer-outs the comprehensive structural entities of Kannada. Based on this study, one can acknowledge for establishing the descriptive model in the Kannada Linguistics.

A Bibliography of Professor William Bright's Books and Papers (Related to only Kannada).

Bright, W. An Outline of Colloquial Kannada, Poona, 1958.

..... "Linguistic Change in Some Indian Caste Dialects," IJAL, 26, 3, 1960.

..... "Social dialect and language history," CA, 1, 1960.

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Bright, W. and Ramanujan, A.K. "A Study of Tamil dialects," University of Chicago, 1962 (mimeographed).

..... "Sociolinguistic variation and language change," ICL 9, 1964.

Bright, W. Rau, Sh. and Narvekar, M. Spoken Kannada: Lessons 1-12, University of California, Berkeley, 1960 (mimeographed). [PL 4643 B72.]

Bright, William O. 1966. "Dravidian Metaphony." Lg. 42:2.311-22.

Bright, William O. 1970: "Phonological Rules in Literary and Colloquial Kannada' Journal of American Oriental Society. 90. 1:140-144

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ANDRONOV. M. S (1931-)

Mikhail Segreevich Andropov (1931-) is one of the pioneering figures in Dravidian studies in the erstalile USSR. And has made commendable contributions to Dravidian linguistics, especially, Kannada and Tamil linguistics in order to understand Dravidian studies. Andropov was mastered in the Devanagari alphabet as a school boy and his first love was Bengali in which he specialized at the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies. He took his M.A. in 1954 from this institute, submitting a thesis on the Dravidian elements in Bengali. He had already developed a strong liking for Tamil and begins to learn Tamil from the writings of pope, Arden and the Russian-Tamil scholars S. Bulich and Gerasim Lebedev. Later, he studied Tamil under P.Samsundaram and K. Subramaniyam, at Moscow. In 1958, he came to India on a scholarship and studied at the University of Madras under Professors R. Sethupillai, B. C. Lingam S. Hameed. After returning to Moscow, he submitted his doctoral dissertation on Tamil language in 1960. In 1971, he received the D.Litt, degree, also on Tamil linguistics. Andronov initiated many Russian linguists to the study of Dravidian languages. He himself contributed many scholarly articles and books on Dravidian languages, especially Kannada and Tamil. Dravidian languages, which contains a sketch of Dravidian comparative grammar, published in Russian in 1965 and in 1970, is his solid contribution to Dravidian studies. Equally well known is *'The Kannada Language'*, published in Russian in 1962, in 1969 it was published in English, in 1979 it was published in Kannada by William Madtha. In addition, he also brought some important works in Tamil and Malayalam.

In his study, *'The Kannada Language'*, Andronov has emphasized the important features of literary Kannada. This book is an outline description of modern literary Kannada. In this study, one can find grammatical information about the ancient and medieval stages as well as the colloquial forms of Kannada. The work is quite useful to students of the oriental, philological and linguistic departments having descriptive and historical bias in their curriculum of studies.

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A Bibliography of Professor M S Andronov's Books and Papers (Related to only Kannada).

1968: Two Lectures on the Historicity of Language families, Annamalai University, Tamil Nadu

1969: The Kannada Language (TR, From Russian by V.Korotky, Moscow: Nauk publishing house 1962) in Kannada b y William Madtha in 1977.

1970: Dravidian Languages, Visalandhra Publications, Hyderabad and Moscow.

1975: Dravidian Pronouns: A Comparative Study, Journal of Tamil Studies

1976: Case Suffixes in Dravidian: A Comparative Study- Anthropos, St, Augustine

1977: Pronominal Suffixes in Dravidian: A Comparative Study, IJDL Vol-VI No I Andronov, M. "On the Future Tense Base in Tamil," TC, 8, 3, 1959.

..... Jazyk Kannada (Kannada Language), Moscow, 1962.

..... Dravidijskije jazyki (Dravidian Languages: a Comparative Study), Moscow, 1965.

..... "New Evidence of Possible Linguistic Ties between the Deccan and the Urals," SPV, 1961.

..... "Dravidian Languages," Ar. Or., 31, 2, 1963.

..... "Lexicostatistic analysis of the chronology of disintegration of Proto-Dravidian," IIJ, 7, 2-3, 1964.

..... "Materials for a Bibliography of Dravidian Linguistics," TC, 11, 1, 1964.

..... "On the Typological Similarity of New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian," IL, 25. PL 4753, A 6413.]

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HAROLD F. SCHIFFMAN (1938-)

Prof Harold Schiffman is one of the modern Dravidian Linguists who was born on Feb 19, 1938 in USA. He was educated at various institutions and universities. Therefore, he received his BA from Antioch College in 1960 by opting French and German languages. Moreover, he was in University of Freiberg Germany during 1957-58 and he was also there in Annamalai University, Tamilnadu, South India during 1965-66. In the year 1966, he got his M.A. in Linguistics in the area of specializations of Slavic and Dravidian languages from the University of Chicago. In addition to this, he did his Ph.D. in Dravidian Linguistics in 1969 from University of Chicago.

Professor Harold Schiffman was held several positions in different capacities in different institutions. He was Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology in the University of California, Davis. During the years 1967-73, he was Assistant Professor; 1973-78 Associate Professor; 1978-95 Professor in the Department of Asian Languages in the University of Washington. In the mean time, between 1982-87, he was Adjunct Professor of the Chair of Linguistics and Anthropology in the Department of Asian Languages in the University of Washington. And in the years between 1994-95 he was the Director of The Language Centre, University of Washington and during these periods 1995-2000, he was the Director of Henry R Luce Professor of Language Learning Department Of South Asia Regional Studies and Pennsylvania Language Center, University of Pennsylvania. From 2002 onwards, he has been the Director for Pedagogical Materials Project, South Asia Language Resource Center.

Schiffman, Harold, F. A Reference Grammar of Spoken Kannada, settle& London: University of Washington press, 1983.

It is one of the significant contributions by Schiffman. In this book, the author has brought the facts of Kannada language together rather than involving in debate of theoretical nature. All the sections of this work: phonology, the noun phrase, the verb phrase, Syntax gives a detailed description of the parole of the educated people Bangalore/ Mysore area of Karnataka which is emulated in films and radio. Hence, it is based neither on caste nor on regional dialects of

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Kannada in *sensu stricto*. It includes a vast and useful Bibliography of books articles prepared painstakingly. The well-organized exhaustive index enables the reader to have easy reference.

Professor Harold schiffman was awarded many fellowships, awards and grants; these are the following lists of Fellowships, Awards and Grants:

1) NDEA Title VI in Tamil, Kannada, and Telugu: Universities of Chicago, Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan State: 1963-5, 1968.

2) American Institute of Indian Studies: Junior Fellowship, 1965-66; Senior Fellowship 1976, Short-term Senior Fellowship, summer, 1978.

3) American Council of Learned Societies/Social Science Research Council: Grant for Research on Language Loyalty in Sri Lanka.

4) Graduate School Research Fund, University of Washington: Spring quarter1976. "Language Loyalty in the German-American Church."

5) Office of Education, Institute of International Studies: Contract Reader for Advanced Spoken Tamil, 1971; Grant Reference Grammar of Spoken Kannada, 1979.

6) National Endowment for the Humanities: Three-year Grant for English-Tamil Dictionary, 1984-88. Smithsonian Institution: Grant for support of English-Tamil Dictionary in India, 1984-88. Graduate School Research Fund R.A.-ship, Autumn-winter, 1985-86.

7) Council for International Exchange of Scholars (Fulbright): Three-month award for research in Singapore and Malaysia, 1994.

8) The HenryR.Luce Foundation: Luce Professorship in Language Learning, University of Pennsylvania.

Professional Memberships

1) Linguistic Society of America; International Linguistic Association; Dravidian

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2) Linguistic Association; Linguistic Society of India; American Anthropological Association

Professional Offices Held

1. Committee, SEASSI 1993- **Chair** Language Committee, South Asia Regional Council, AAS 1974-6
2. **Chair** Language Committee, American Institute of Indian Studies 1978-3
3. **Trustee** American Institute of Indian Studies 1979-83
4. **Member** South Asia Council, Association for Asian Studies 1982-85
5. **Vice-President** International Association of Tamil Research 1987-
6. **Member** Language Advisory Committee, SEASSI 1991-95 **Chair** Language (Advisory)95

A Bibliography of Professor Schiffman Harold's Books and Papers (Related to only Kannada).

1. *Dravidian Phonological Systems,* (with Carol Eastman, Eds.) 1975. South Asian Studies Program, Institute for Comparative and Foreign Area Studies, and University of Washington Press, pp. i-xxii, 1-409.
2. *Language and Society in South Asia.* 1982. (With Michael Shapiro.) Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. Pp.i-x, 1-283.
3. *A Reference Grammar of Spoken Kannada.* 1983. Seattle: University of Washington Press and School of International Studies Publications on Asia, Vol. 39. Pp. i-xx, 1-182.
4. *Geolinguistics: Language Dynamics and Ethno-Linguistic Geography.* 1991. Translation of *La Gnographie des Langues.* (Roland Breton, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1983.) Les Presses de l'Universit'e d'Ottawa. Pp. i-vii, 1-155.
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Selected Articles:

1. 1968: Morphophonemics of the Kannada Verb, Glossa 2.2: 191-212
2. 1965: Morphophonemics in Kannada, in seminar on Grammatical Theories in Kannada, Mysore
3. 1975: "On the Ternary Contrast in Dravidian Coronal Stops." in H. Schiffman and C. M. Eastman (eds.) *Dravidian Phonological Systems*, pp. 69-85...
4. 1991: *Kannada.* In Wm. Bright, (ed.), *Oxford International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, Vol. II, pp. 266-268. Oxford: the Clarendon Press.

WILLIAM MCCORMACK

William McCormack is one of the renowned scholars of Kannada language among western scholars who have contributed to Kannada Linguistics. His contribution to Kannada is considerably great in the areas of dialectology, sociolinguistics and language teaching. The focus of William McCormack's study on Dharwar Kannada is significant in order to understand, the way in which language variation takes place in a multicultural and multilingual speech repertoire. Subsequently, McCormack's study of Dharwar Kannada indicates substantial borrowing of Brahman forms by non-Brahmans, at the same time, in the region of north Karnataka urban non-Brahmans with white-collar jobs or good education speak like Brahmans.

A Bibliography of ProfessorWilliamMcCormack's Books and Papers (Related to only Kannada).

1960: Social dialects in Dharwar Kannada. In: Ferguson and Gumperz (Ed).

1962: Elementary Kannada in three volumes with M G Krishnamurthy, S Krishnamurthy, S B Prasad and ShantaRam

1966: Kannada: A Cultural Introduction to the Spoken Styles of the Language. Madison: The University of Wisconsin press.

1968: Occupation and Residence in relation to Dharwar dialects. In: Singer and Cohn (Ed).

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1968: Social dialect in Dharwar Kannada. In: Sebock (Ed) in 1969.

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1974: Indian Linguistics, vol.35: No: 4, Decan College, Poona

1977: International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics, Vol: VI, No.1, DLA: Keral

1987: Ibid, Vol: XVI No.1

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Madtha, William: 1988: Kannada Linguistics so for (1894-1986) A Rapid Survey and Analysis, Journal of the Karnataka University, Vol: XXXII, Dharwar

Mathew K. M.: 1994: Rev. F. Kittel: Ondu Samagra Adhayana, Kittel College, Dharwar

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Websites: of William Bright, Harold. Schiffman and Wilkin Encyclopedia

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- વડોદરા એક અધ્યયન (પુનઃ પ્રકાશન), રમણલાલ નાગરજી મહેતા
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ELEPHANTOLOGY AS GLEANED FROM THE *HASTIHṚDAYAPRABANDHA*

K.G. Sheshadri*

Introduction

Elephants have played a prominent part in Eastern cultures from ancient times. In Asia, elephants have been used for transport, logging, war and religious purposes. They have fascinated humans for millennia and a vast literature related to their characteristics, diseases and their treatment developed in eastern cultures. The importance of elephants in war made their management very important for kings and a lot of literature on Elephant capture, training and Elephant husbandry came into existence in Sanskrit, the ancient language of India. Elephantology developed into a branch of science related to governance in ancient India and many early works on statecraft devote chapters to it.

All known texts agree in attributing the knowledge of elephants to Sage Pālakāpya[1]. Apart from him, among the other ancient authorities referred to are Vīrasena, Bṛhaspati, Nīlakaṇṭha, Vyāsa, Nārada, Rājaputra and Vaiśampāyana. Indian poets have also described the behaviour of Elephants in many of their works. However, there do exist still several elephant treatises in several manuscript repositories in India as well as in collections of various libraries outside India that are yet to be published and largely remain unknown. Some of the treatises

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* *Ex- IISc. Proj. Asst. with interests in Ancient Indian Sciences and Indology* RMV Clusters, Phase-2, Block-2, 5th floor, Flat No.503, Devinagar, Lottegollahalli, Bangalore-560094. Ph.No:- +91-80-23415639 (Resi.)
Email: kg_sheshadri@yahoo.com

1. Harbola, P.C., "Historical perspective of Hastyāyurveda", Section II, Chapter. 8, In: "*Veterinary science and animal husbandry in ancient India,*" Somavanshi, R., and Yadav M. P., (eds.), Indian Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar, U.P, 2003, pp. 51 - 59.

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are known only by quotations in various Sanskrit literature as well as texts in vernacular languages. These may perhaps be lost or may lie in the form of undiscovered manuscript treasures in various manuscript repositories. One such text is the '*Hastihṛdayaprabandha*' [hereafter denoted as HHP] quoted in the '*Lakṣaṇaprakāśa*' section of the voluminous treatise '*Vīramitrodaya*'[2] of Mitra Miśra. Gleanings of elephantology from extracts of the text are presented in this paper with a brief overview of earlier treatises that allow one to appreciate the new aspects of elephants presented by the above quoted text.

Brief overview of Elephant treatises

Maharṣi Pālakāpya's treatise titled the '*Hastyāyurveda*'[3] is an elaborate text in the form of a discourse dealing extensively with elephant diseases and their remedies. It runs to about 20,000 or more verses and is in the form of a discourse between king Romapāda and Sage Pālakāpya and divided into four sections named *Mahārogasthāna, Kṣudrarogasthāna, Śalyasthāna* and *Uttarasthāna.*

The *Agnipurāṇa*[4], *Garuḍapurāṇa*[5] and *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*[6] also refer to Pālakāpya and draw some materials from his treatise. The matter pertaining to elephants in these texts have been discussed in literature[7, 8].

2. Miśra, Pt. Mitra., "*Lakṣaṇaprakāśa*' section of '*Vīramitrodaya*", Chowkhambha Sanskrit series, Vol. V, Varanasi, 1987.
3. Sharma, Pt. Shivadutta, "*Maharṣi* Pālakāpya's '*Hastyāyurveda*' - Sanskrit text", Anandashram Sanskrit Series, No. 26, Poona, 1894.
4. Joshi, K. L. (Ed.), Dutt, M. N., "*Agnipurāṇa*", - Text with Translation, Parimal Publications, Delhi, 2001, Ch. 287.
5. Shastri, J. L., (Ed.), "*Garuḍapurāṇa*", Vol. 13, Pt. 2, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, New Delhi, 1979.
6. Venkatanathacharya, N. S., *Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra.*, Oriental Research Institute, Series No. 158, Mysore, 1986.
7. Prasad, P.V.V., Subhakatha, P. K. J. P., Narayana, A., "Medical information in *Agnipurāṇa*", *Journal of Indian Institute of History of Medicine*, Vol. XXXVII, No.1, Jan-June 2007, pp. 87-105.
8. Varanasi, Subhose., Narayana, A., "*Paśu Āyurveda* (Veterinary Medicine) in *Garuḍapurāṇa*", *Journal of Indian Institute of History of Medicine*, Vol. XXXVII, No.2, July-December 2007, pp. 117-134.

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The '*Gajalakṣaṇa*'[9] is in the form of a dialogue between king Nahuṣa and Bṛhaspati mentioning different kinds of elephants and their characteristics. The '*Gajagrahaṇaprakāra*'[10] of Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, an unknown author deals on role of elephants in work, wars and describes various methods of capturing wild elephants. Sage Vyāsa's *'Gajalakṣaṇa Chikitsā'*[11], Sage Vaiśampāyana's *'Gajaśāstra'*[12], Sage Nārada's *'Gaja Śikṣā'*[13] and later texts like the *'Gajapraśaṁsa'*[14] from *'Sāraṅgadharapaddhati'*, *'Gajadarpaṇa'*[15] of Hemādri, *'Gajapakṣipaṭala'*[16] from *'Viṣṇuyāmāla'*, *'Gajaśāstra'*[17] of Rāja Serfoji II (1798-1832 A. D) from Tanjore, *'Mataṅgalīlā'*[18] of Nīlakaṇṭha are other works on elephantology.

Some regional treatises also exist in vernacular languages such as the

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9. Raghavan, V., Raja, C. Kunhan., "New Catalogues Catalogorum (NCC) - an alphabetical register of Sanskrit and allied works and authors", Vol. V., University of Madras, 1969.
10. Sharma, E. R. Shree Krishna., "*Gajagrahaṇaprakāra* of Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita", Sri Venkateshwara University Oriental Journal, Vol.7, Pt. 1-2, 1964, pp. 1-89.
11. Raghavan, V., Raja, C. Kunhan., NCC., *op.cit.*, p. 229
12. Gopalan, S., "Sage Vaiśampāyaṇa's *'Gajaśāstra'* quoted in "*Gajaśāstram* of Pālakāpya *Muni* -With extracts from other works and colored illustrations', Text in Sanskrit with Translation in Tamil by Śāstri, K. S. Subrahmaṇya., Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library Series No. 76, Tanjore, 1958.
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17. Rao, G. Nagaraja, *'Gajaśāstra* of Rja Serfoji II', Marathi version, Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library Series No. 76A, Tanjore, 1958.
18. Edgerton, Franklin, *'The Elephant Lore of the Hindus - Translation of 'Mataṅgalīlā'* of Nīlakaṇṭha', Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1985.

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'*Hastividyārṇava*'[19] of Sukumar Barkaith in Assam, '*Gajaśāstra* or *Śivamāramata*'[20] of Ganga king Saigoṭṭa Śivamāra (800 A.D.), information on elephants in '*Lokopakāra*'[21] of Chāvuṇḍarāya II (in Kannada), a poet scholar of Karnataka in court of Jayasiṁha-II (1015 - 1042 A.D),

The '*Śivatattvaratnākara*'[22] (STR) an encyclopedic text of Keladi Basavarāja, '*Mānasollāsa*'[23] of Chalukyan king Someśvara (1131 A.D) and '*Kalpanāratna*' of Śivamāra Bhūpāla[24]. Some of these treatises deal with the characteristics of elephants, their behaviour, classification and diseases - causes, diagnosis and their remedies. Several such treatises have been briefly discussed in recent publications[25, 26]. The New Catalogus Catalogorum (NCC) mentions several other works of elephantology.

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19. Choudhary, Pratap Chandra., '*Hastividyārṇava*', Publication Board, Guwahati, Assam, 1976.
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22. Shastry, Vidwan S. Narayana Swamy, "*Śivatattvaratnākara*'-an encyclopedic text of Keladi Basavarāja", Oriental Research Institute, University of Mysore, Vols. I-III, 1964.
23. Sri Gondekar, G.K., "*Mānasollāsa* of Chalukyan king Someśvara", Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No.84, Vol. II, Oriental Research Institute, Baroda, 2001.
24. Rao, Vidwan H. V. Nagaraja., "*Kalpanāratnam* of Śivamāra Bhūpāla", Poorna Prajna Samshodhana Mandira, Bangalore, 2009.
25. Cheeran, Jacob. V., "Elephantology in Sanskrit," *Gajaḥ-Journal of the Asian Elephant Specialist Group*, Sri Lanka, Vol. 39, 2013, pp. 24 - 29.
26. Bhattacharya, Vinayatosa; Sri Gondekar, G. K., "Sanskrit works on elephants", *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Institute*, Vol. X, Pt. 3, 1924, pp. 317 - 324.

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Elephantology in the '*Hastihṛdayaprabandha*'

Although several such treatises as mentioned above exist, there are yet others which lie in several manuscript repositories spread all over India as well as some in foreign countries. Some others lie as partial extracts in the vast literature of the country that not much has been tapped in order to enrich the knowledge about Elephants in India. Of these, one of them is the '*Hastihṛdayaprabandha*' of which no known manuscript is known but extracts of it are copiously quoted in the *'Lakṣaṇaprakāśa'* [Section on elephants] of the voluminous treatise *'Vīramitrodaya'* of M.M. Pandit Mitra Miśra. The *'Vīramitrodaya'* is a voluminous treatise dealing on several aspects like *Dharma, Vrata, Lakṣaṇa, Śrāddha* and so on. Among them, the *'Lakṣaṇaprakāśa'* section deals on characteristics of horses, men, women, weapons, elephants and so many other aspects. While dealing on elephantology it quotes from several texts and authorities such as the '*Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa'* , Sage Pālakāpya's, *Gajaśāstra*', '*Parāśarasaṁhitā*, '*Bṛhaspatisaṁhitā*', '*Gajahṛdaya*' of Sage Pālakāpya, '*Varāhasaṁhitā* or *Bṛhatsaṁhitā'* and the '*Hastihṛdayaprabandha*'. Although, the '*Vīramitrodaya'* does not give many details about the '*Hastihṛdayaprabandha*', there exists considerable information about elephants in this rare (probably lost) text. The various chapters in the text are still unknown but a considerable amount of the contents of some chapters can be gleaned from the '*Vīramitrodaya'*. These may be classified under the following heads and the extracts from the '*Hastihṛdayaprabandha*' pertaining to them are given under each of them as below :

A Complexion or brightness of skin of Elephants [*Chāyālakṣanam*]- The brightness of skin of elephant is based on 5 elements of which those belonging to earth, water, fire are considered best and those of wind and sky elements are considered worst. The 'HHP' states [27]

भूखाग्म्बुमरुज्जाता भवेच्छाया बिसाशिनाम् ।

It adds that one should observe the *Chāyā* of elephants on special occasions like

27. Miśra, Pt. Mitra., "HHP", *op.cit.*, pp. 365-366.

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waving of lights before the elephant, consecration ceremonies and during *Dhvaja* (flag) hoisting amidst wars -

नीराजनेऽभिषेके च ध्वजोच्छाये रणोदये । तेषु तेषु च कालेषु भवेच्छायावलोकनम् ॥

Interestingly, it mentions the places where such change in complexion can be observed such as the chest (*vakṣasa*), part of elephant's face between tusks (*pratimāna*), frontal globe or large prominence on the upper part of forehead (*kumbha*), ears (*karṇa*), temples (*kaṭa*), outer corner of elephant's eye (*niryāṇa*), head (*mastakasthāna*), sockets of tusks (*veṣṭa*), cheek (*kapola*), penis (*piṇḍikā*), hip and loin regions (*jaghana*) and feet.

वक्षसि प्रतिमाने च कुम्भकर्णकटेषु च । निर्याणमस्तकस्थाने वेष्टयोश्च कपोलयोः ॥
पिण्डिकाजघनाभागे तेषु तेषु पदेषु च । प्रादितेषु प्रधानेषु छायया वीक्षणं भवेत् ॥

The colors of various types of *Chāyā* are also outlined by the text as follows :

नीलाम्बुजेन्द्रनीलाभा नीलाञ्जननिभापि च । काप्युक्ता पार्थिवी छाया सुभिक्षक्षेमकारिणी ॥

बालार्कपद्मकिञ्जलशक्रगोपकसन्निभा । ज्वालाभा तप्तहेमाभा वह्निजाविजयप्रदा ॥

छाया मणिपयः शङ्खकुन्दरुप्यबिद्युतिः । सोमाख्यया प्रतीता च भर्त्तुरर्थप्रदा सदा ॥

जलबुद्बुदसङ्काशा धूम्रा च द्युतिरस्थिरा । जिह्मा च व्योमजा छाया नित्योद्वेगकरी मता ॥

सर्ववर्णोरुपेतापि निष्प्रभा भस्मसन्निभा । विच्छिन्ना विकृता छाया वायव्याऽर्थक्षयावहा ॥

'The complexion that is of the color of a blue lotus, sapphire and dark collyrium pertains to the earth element and is auspicious bringing about welfare; those of hues of the rising sun, lotus, rose, cochineal insect, flames of fire, hot gold belong to element of fire and forebode victory; those of color of gems, milk, conch, jasmine, silver, water-lily, Moon belong to element of water bringing about wealth and brothers; those of hues of bubbles of water, smoke, dull in color belong to element of ether and forebode daily anxiety; the complexion which is near to all colors, stainless, ash hued, cut and deformed belong to element of Air and forebode loss of wealth''.

Of these five complexions, that which is regarded as pertaining to Air is censurable while other four are fraught with happiness. Other classes of

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complexions related to divine beings as observed in elephants are also stated by the text -

वैरिञ्ची वैष्णवी शाक्री तथा चैव हि शाङ्करी । कौमारी राक्षसी सार्पी गान्धर्वी च तथाऽऽसुरी ॥
पैशाची चेति याश्चन्याश्छाया दिव्याः क्वचिच्छुभाः ॥ भूतोक्तलक्षणं तासामभेदान्नेह कीर्तितम् ॥
तेजोऽतोसक्ता भद्रस्य पाटला भवति प्रभा । छाया रक्तारुणरुचिः पक्वपूगनिभापि वा ॥
कृष्णा वा मन्दकरिणश्छाया च मृगहस्तिनः । मलिनाम्बर धूम्रैव गीर्वाणगणदर्शनात् ॥

B Color of elephants [*Varṇalakṣanam*] - This chapter deals with various colors and shades possessed by elephants. The '*Vīramitrodaya*' states that the color of elephants varies due to food intake, changes in *dośas* (fundamental bodily humours due to wind, phlegm and bile), country, class, effects of planets and asterisms, the *Lagna*, constellation and its previous *Karma* causing change in the *dhatus* (fundamental principles that support the basic structure and functioning of the body such as lymph, blood, muscles, fat, bone, marrow and semen). The Divine elephants have colors of red lead, conch, diamond, lightning, rose apple, sapphire, lotus, sun, yellow orpiment, extremely white or having hues of blood, parrot and peacock according to the '*Bṛhaspatisaṁhitā*' quoted in '*Vīramitrodaya*'[28]-

सिन्दूरशङ्खवैडूर्यविद्युज्जाम्बूनदप्रभाः । इन्द्रनीलोत्पलादित्यहरितालनिभाश्च ये ।
अतिश्वेताश्च रक्ता ये शुकबर्हिणसप्रभाः ॥

Terrestrial elephants having colors of red, black, dark like a cloud with those of glossy hued complexion are considered auspicious. Those of hues of horns of a bull, charcoal, ashes, bones, mud, Indian madder and faded flowers are considered inauspicious as quoted by '*Bṛhaspatisaṁhitā*' -

लोहितश्चैव कृष्णश्च श्यामो वर्णत्रय शुभम् । स्निग्धच्छायासमायुक्तं भवेद्भूतलदन्तिनाम् ॥
गोशृङ्गाङ्गारभस्मास्थिपङ्कमाञ्जिष्ठसन्निभाः । म्लानपुष्पसवर्णाश्च गजास्त्वेतेऽतिनिन्दिताः ॥

The HHP mentions that those of white color or those of colors of a parrot, peacock, gem or pure gold are auspicious for the *Devas*. These are considered to be Divine elephants. Terrestrial elephants for men are of three colors namely

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 367-368.

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white, reddish brown and black. Among them colors such as white are regarded best; dark one that is neither too black nor brown is regarded as medium while those of black are considered inferior. That which is white bordered by single hairs from pores on its body and having spots are considered superior according to the text -

हरिर्मधुसवर्णः स्यात्कृष्णश्चाञ्जनसन्निभः । न कालो न हरिर्नागो मध्यमः श्याम इष्यते ॥
एतेषु च त्रिवर्णेषु हरिवर्णो वरो मतः । मध्यमः श्यामवर्णश्च कनिष्ठः कृष्णविद्युतिः ॥
श्वेतैस्तनूरुहैराप्तः समन्तादेक कूपजैः । सूक्ष्मबिन्दुचितो हस्ती हरिवर्णो महावरः ॥

C Smell (odour) of the body of elephants [*Gandhalakṣaṇam*]-

The HHP states that one must examine the smell of the elephant's mouth, eyes, temples, rut, breath, faces, urine and water ejected from its trunk as stated below:[29]

आस्याक्षिकुम्भकर्णेषु मदनिः श्वासवायुषु । शकृद्वमथुमुत्रेषु गन्धान् समुपलक्षयेत् ॥ वमथुर्गजकरसीकरः ।

It also outlines the auspicious and inauspicious smells of elephants. Those having the odour of clarified butter, honey, earth, parched grains, curds (or buttermilk), milk, flowers like *Mālati* (Jasminum glandiflorum, L.), *Ketaki* (Pandanus odoratissimus, Roxb.) and *Jāti* (Jasminum glandiflorum, L.), Sandal, *Vachā* (Acorus calamus, L.), nectar, fragrant fruits are considered auspicious. Those elephants having the odour of blood, urine, faeces, puss, marrow, dead body, bird's nest, *Saptaparṇa* (Indian devil tree - Alstonia scholaris), garlic, ass, camel, boar, dog, goat, fishes, bedbugs are inauspicious and bring about distress and fear.

D Whorls and marks on bodies of elephants [*Āvartalakṣaṇam*] -

Elephants are supposed to have several whorls and marks such as conch, earthern pot, fish, mirror, bull, lamp, sacrificial fire place, arrow, cowrie, umbrella that are auspicious. There also exist others that are considered inauspicious and bring misfortune. The HHP states that[30]-

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 368-369.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 376-377.

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आवर्तः षट्प्रदेशेषु त्वग्जो दशनभङ्गजः । केशजः पक्ष्मजातश्च बालजो रोमजोऽपि च ॥

केशरोमभवौ शस्तौ दन्तकल्पनजः शुभः । शोकानर्थप्रदाः प्रोक्तास्त्वग्जपक्ष्मजबालजाः ॥

भूमिदो रोमजावर्त्तो केशावर्त्तो जयप्रदः ।

"Whorls occur in six places of its body such as skin, tusks, tail, around eyelashes, backbone regions and so on. Those occuring in the cavities, tusks are auspicious; those around eyelashes and on skin forebode distress while those on feet forebode victory".

Further the text states that an elephant with whorls around the region of tusks forebodes offspring and wives to the owner, those with whorls in regions of cuts in the skin or eyelashes forebode security, those in regions of backbone bring about distress and death; whorls in *Cūlikā* (root of elephant's ear) forebode happiness, those having whorls in the chest forebode victory and those with whorls in the *Kumbha* (frontal globe or protuberance on either side of its forehead) are dear to the king. The HHP states that whorls in the regions of *Avagraha* (above *kumbha*), *Agrahasta* (portions in front and sides of trunk), *Cūlikā,* region between breasts, neck, around eye sockets, around the *Kumbha*, regions around palate and sockets of the tusks, middle of the ear and on the chest are considered to be auspicious. Whorls in the backbone regions, between shoulders, *Vāhittha* (middle of elephant's face), back of the neck, anus, temples, ear, sockets of eyes, navel, sides of forelegs, shoulder, belly, tail, part around the root of elephant's tail (*pechaka*), scrotum and in the regions of openings (in body like anus) are considered to be inauspicious. The HHP quoting the views of Rājaputra mentions that those whorls that are on the right are auspicious and those on left are inauspicious.

प्रशस्तो दक्षिणावर्तो वामावर्तो विगर्हितः ।

The *Matsyapurāṇa* [Chap. 24] states that the *'Rājaputrīya'* is a work on elephantology by Budha (the planet Mercury who is called Rājaputra and being the son of Somarāja, the Moon).

E Flower marks on body of elephants [*Puṣpalakṣaṇam*] -

Certain marks appear and disappear on the body of elephants during the

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course of their lifetime and are called *Puṣpas* (flowers). These aspects have not been studied by modern experts on elephantology although they have been treated in ancient '*Gajaśāstra*' texts. These come under the branch of physiognomy (*Sāmudrika Śāstra*). The HHP states that *Puṣpas* in tusk regions appearing to be glossy and shaped like a *Svastika* (an auspicious figure drawn by proportionate perpendicular lines at tips of a plus sign in a clockwise direction) are auspicious while those in regions of belly obscured by light and being dark are inauspicious. Further *Puṣpas* that are of colors of white, yellow, golden, blue lotus, sapphire, rainbow, red and glossy in nature are auspicious[31].

स्वस्तिकादेषु संस्थानं पुष्पं दशनदेहजम् । स्निग्धं भव्यं शुभच्छायमच्छिन्नं वाञ्छितप्रदम् ॥
कबन्धादिकसंस्थानं विगतप्रभस्फुटम् । रूक्षवर्णं च कुसुमं ततोऽनर्थकरं मतम् ॥
दद्यात्सुतं सितं पुष्पं स्निग्धं पीतं च हेमदम् । नीलोत्पलेन्द्रनीलाभं स्निग्धं कालं च वृत्तिदम् ॥
यश्च स्यात्पूजिते भागे कुसुमं स्निग्धपाण्डुरम् । शुभाय च शुभाकारं तद्भवेद्भूपतेः शुभम् ॥

Likewise *Puṣpas* in the shape of a sacred-fig tree (*śrīvṛkṣa*), sacred garland of Lord Viṣṇu (*vaijayantī*), flag, mountain, palace, umbrella, whisks, Moon, Sun, palanquin, vehicle and idol shape are considered to be auspicious. Elephants with *Puṣpas* of black or multicolored, colors of silver, black serpent, dog and smoke are considered to be inauspicious causing death in wars or fear from fire.

F Similarity of certain features due to former state of existence or imitation [*Anūkalakṣanam*]-

Ancient experts on elephantology state that *Anūka* is the name given to the character, gait, gesture, voice of other animals imitated by elephants or having these features based on its former state of existence as a heavenly being (based on its *Karma* or actions). The HHP states that the features of *Devas*, Sages, *Gandharvas*, serpents are considered to be auspicious while those of *Daityas*, *Rākṣasas* and *Piśācās* are inauspicious. The features imitating those of bulls, lions and horses are auspicious while those of asses, vulture are inauspicious[32].

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 377-378.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 383.

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यत्पूर्वसम्भवेऽभ्यस्तं सत्त्वं रूपं गतिः स्वरः । तस्यानुकरणादुक्तमनूकमिति कोविदैः ॥

सत्त्वरूपजवारावैः शुभैरनुकृता गजाः । देवर्षिनरगन्धर्वनागानूका मताः शुभाः ॥

एवमेव च सत्त्वाद्यैर्दुष्टैर्नानुकृतैर्युताः । दैत्यरक्षः पिशाचानामनूकैः परिवर्जिताः ॥

वृषसिंहतुरङ्गादिसमानूका मता द्विपाः । नेष्टाश्च स्वरगृध्रादिसमानानूकयोगिनः ॥

G On the sensitivities by goads and weapons [*Veditalakṣanam*]-

Interestingly the HHP speaks of characteristics of elephants based on their sensitivities to stimuli of the driver such as when being struck by weapons, pierced by goading instruments and so on. This sensitiveness is said to be five-fold for those having their origin through *Sāmans.*

पञ्चधा वेदितं चैव विज्ञेयं सामजन्मनाम् ।

Sage Pālakāpya states that elephants had their origin when *Sāmagāna* was chanted. The *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* also states that during their origin, Lord Brahmā chanted the *Rathāntara Sāman.* Based on the piercing and so on the HHP states [33]-

अत्यर्थोत्तानगम्भीर प्रत्यर्थान्वर्थभेदतः ॥ यस्तु घातादुद्विजते दूरादेवाङ्कुशादिकम् । स्पृष्टश्च व्यर्थतेऽत्यर्थं स गजोऽत्यर्थवेदितः ॥ योऽपि त्वक्स्पर्शमात्रेण रोमस्पर्शवशेन च । विद्याद्दण्डाङ्कुशादींश्च च गजोत्तानवेदितः ॥ त्वग्भेदात् शोणितस्रावात्तीव्रं च व्यथनादपि । अङ्कुशादीन् विजानीयात् गजो गम्भीरवेदितः ॥ शनैर्हता भृशं वेत्ति शनैर्वेति भृशाहतः । विपरीतगतिर्नागो ज्ञेयः प्रत्यर्थवेदितः ॥ शनैर्हतो भृशं वेत्ति भृशं वेत्ति भृशाहतः । प्रत्येति प्रतिषिद्धश्च चोद्यमानश्च गच्छति ॥ यथा संज्ञं विदध्याच्च सर्वकर्माणि योऽद्भुतम् । अत्यर्थवेदितं प्राज्ञं जानीयात्तं सुभं गजम् ॥

"The Five-fold sensitiveness is said to be extreme (*atyartha*), shallow (*uttāna*), deep (*gambhīra*), conformable to meaning (*anvartha*) and contrary to meaning (*pratyartha*). One that becomes anxious from a far at the goad or hook or trembles when merely touched, that elephant is said to be extremely sensitive; that which feels the impact of the sharpness of goad when it comes in contact with its skin or hairs is of shallow sensitivity; that which does not feel the impact of goad when it tears the skin or draws blood piercing the flesh is of deep sensitivity; one which goes back when goaded forward and when reined in goes ahead acting contrary to the signal (by the driver) is of contrary sensitivity while that elephant which is guided by the feet or goad being sensitive to the act and is not frightened

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or confused is said to be of conformable sensitivity. That which performs all acts based on signals with all promptness free from all vice is said to be of perfect sensitivity and considered to be auspicious.''

G On Elephants that can be mounted by kings during wars [*Rājārohaṇayogyagajalakṣaṇam*]-

The HHP gives characteristics of elephants that are suitable for mounting by kings during wars based on its actions by both the feet or stamping the earth or based on its actions by the tusks[34]. These are tabulated as in Tab. 1.

Tab. 1

Actions of the Elephants	Predictions
Seeing the enemy in front, though being brave moves back	Brings defeat or suffering
Striking right root first and then with left foot	Brings victory
Puts its trunk forward and strikes the feet	Forebodes well being
With trunk put on right tusk and waving	Forebodes meeting of lover
If trunk is waved and put on middle of forehead	Brings victory
If it tries to hold the left tusk bent on wicked nature	Death of king or rider
If it becomes angry, revolves and falls	Inauspiciousness.
If its actions are by wicked mind or by being possessed or foresees defeat	Destruction of the country or defeat or obstacles in royal journey.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 397-398.

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The HHP is thus a very important text as it furnishes some queer details not found in other elephant treatises. The aspects of color, smell, complexion, whorls are found in various available texts on elephants. Unlike the other texts on elephants, the HHP as available in the extracts quoted in *'Vīramitrodaya'* do not deal on sounds made by elephants. This feature as gleaned from some treatises have been dealt in recent literature[35]. The aspects of origin of elephants, diseases and their treatment, seasonal regimen, kinds of musth, modes of catching, characteristics of elephants belonging to various regions are not treated in the available text of *'Vīramitrodaya'*. Therefore without an examination of any existing manuscripts of HHP in any manuscript repository collections it cannot be judged that they were not dealt, thus giving a scope for further research into these features. The aspects of degrees of sensitivity to stimuli (goading) dealt by HHP are also mentioned in the *Śivatattvaratnākara* (STR) [VII.11.91-94][36] of Keladi Basavaraja. He mentions the degrees of sensitivities such as *Anvarthavedī, Gambhīravedī, Uttānavedī, Pratyarthavedī and Anvarthavedī.* The *Anvarthavedī* elephants are recommended for use as royal mounts and royal vehicles STR [VII.11.103-109]. King Someśvara's *'Mānasollāsa'* also touches on various aspects of Elephants that have been dealt by scholars[37].

The predictions made on actions of war elephants are found in other treatises such as *'Bṛhatsaṁhitā'*[38] of Varāhamihira, *'Bhadrabāhusaṁhitā'*[39] of Jain *Bhikṣu* Bhadrabāhu and *'Hariharachaturaṅga'*[40] of Godāvara Miśra which devote chapters

35. Sheshadri, K.G., "Bioacoustical Analysis of some animals in ancient Indian Veterinary texts", *Bharatiya Bhouddik Sampada*-Quarterly Science Journal of Vijnana Bharathi, Issue 43-44, February-June 2014, pp. 44-48.
36. Shastry, Vidwan S. Narayana Swamy, *op.cit.*, 1964
37. Sadhale Nalini., Nene, Y.L., *"On elephants in Mānasollāsa"*, Three Chapters in : Nene Y.L. *"Glimpses of Agricultural Heritage of India'*, Asian Agri-History Foundation, Secundrabad (AP) 2007, pp. 215-256
38. Bhat, M. Ramakrishna, *Varāhamihira Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Motilal Banarasidass, New Delhi, 1981.
39. Shastry, Nemichandra (ed.), *Bhadrabāhusaṁhitā*, Bharatiya Jnanapith, New Delhi. 2001.
40. Shastri, S. K. Ramanatha., *'Hariharachaturaṅga'* of Godvara Miśra, Madras Government Oriental Series, No. XVII., 1950.

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on characteristics and other related aspects of elephants as discussed above. From the contents of the HHP it may seem that some information on elephants were drawn from earlier treatises. Although it may not be possible to fix a date for the text, some details are available in the extracts quoted in *'Vīramitrodaya'*. Based on the references to views of Rājaputra in the section dealing on whorls in elephant's body, it may be presumed that the text was later to *Matsyapurāṇa* as well as Rājaputra's work. Also in the section on odour of elephants, the *'Vīramitrodaya'* quotes the views of both HHP as well as the work of *'Gajadarpaṇa'* of Hemādri. Either one of them had borrowed from the other on this aspect. Based on further studies in Hemādri's text one may also ascertain the date or author of text of '*Hastihṛdayaprabandha*'.

Conclusions

Glimpses of elephant behavior are replete in many of the available elephantology treatises. The descriptions of Sage Pālakāpya's text are so exquisite that they inform us about the behavior, characteristics, diseases and their treatment and are treated elaborately in his '*Hastyāyurveda*' text, Sage Pālakāpya's *'Gajaśāstram'* is available in various Sanskrit as well as vernacular recessions and deals on the various aspects. This latter text is available in two editions in Sanskrit with one being illustrated and published from Tanjore[41] and the other having the Sanskrit commentary *'Bhāvasandarśinī'* of Anantakṛṣṇabhaṭṭāraka[42]. The information given by the text of HHP also enriches our understanding of the subject of Elephants mainly on aspects of its characteristic features like color, whorls, smell, complexion, sensitivity and so on but is wanting on the aspects of types or classification of elephants, age, feeding habits, diseases, treatment, capturing methods and so on. However since the available HHP is based only on extracts quoted in the *'Lakṣaṇaprakāśa'* section of the voluminous treatise

41. Gopalan,S., "*Gajaśāstram* of Pālakāpya *Muni* - with extracts from other works and colored illustrations," Text in Sanskrit with Translation in Tamil by Sāstri, K.S. Subrahmanya, Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library Series No. 76 Tanjore, 1958.
42. Mhaiskar, Vaidya Prof. V.B., Wakankar, Siddharth Yeshwant, "*Maharṣi* Pālakāpya's *Gajaśāstram* with Sanskrit Commentary *'Bhāvasandarśinī'* of Anantakṛṣṇabhaṭṭāraka", Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, New Delhi, 2006,

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'Vīramitrodaya' of Mitra Miśra, a thorough search of these manuscripts in various manuscript repositories may throw light on the complete text (at least in vernacular versions if it exists). Further examination of the manuscripts discovered on this basis may give a clue about the author and its date of composition that will allow one to know the context of the text and its composer. These will serve to bring out a critical edition of the text and thus promote the science of Elephantology.

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લેખકોને :

૧. પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ અથવા કોમ્પ્યુટરમાં તૈયાર કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ/કોમ્પ્યુટર નકલમાં ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. અસ્વીકૃત લેખો પરત મોકલવામાં આવશે નહીં.

૨. લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩. 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કોપીરાઈટ પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર, મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪. સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫. પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખી જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **શ્વેતા પ્રજાપતિ**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે - વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક, જન્માષ્ટમી અંક અને દીપોત્સવી અંક

લવાજમ :

- ભારતમાં ..... રૂા. ૧૫૦.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- પરદેશમાં ..... યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઓફ અમેરિકા માટે ..... ૫૦.૦૦ ડૉલર વાર્ષિક (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમવર્ષ જાન્યુઆરીથી ડિસેમ્બર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું.

નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર,
મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ,
વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.
ફોન નં: ૦૨૬૫-૨૪૨૫૧૨૧

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MADHUSŪDANA BHAṬṬA : AN UNKNOWN COMMENTATOR

Deviprasad Mishra*

Introduction

प्रभ्रश्यत्युत्तरीयत्विषि तमसि समुद्वीक्ष्य वीतावृतीन्प्राक्
जन्तूं स्तन्तून्यथाथा यानतनु वितनुते तिग्मरोचिर्मरीचीन् ।
ते सान्द्रीभूय सद्यः क्रमविशददशाशादशालीविशालं
शश्वत्सम्पादयन्तोऽम्बरममलमलं मङ्गलं वो दिशन्तु ॥

Sūryaśataka - 4

May these rays of the Hot-rayed *(Sūrya)* bestow upon you abundant prosperity, when the Hot-rayed *(Sūrya)*, upon seeing mortals without covering at dawn, when darkness, whose guise is that of an upper garment, is slipping away. *Sūrya* spreads wide his rays just like threads and these reveal the ever spotless sky which is extended by a series of fringes that are ten quarters successively coming into view.

Like other commentators in Sanskrit literature, Madhusūdana is one of the great commentators in this field. Madhusūdana is also known as Madhusūdana Bhaṭṭa, son of the great philosopher Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, who was flourished around 16th century. He was one of the devotees of Lord Kṛṣṇa. In his commentary on *Sūryaśataka* he has prayed to lord Kṛṣṇa as:

वंशीवादनरसिको गोपवधूहृदयकुमुदपूर्णेन्दुः ।
वृन्दाविपिनविहारी जयति यशोदायशोराशिः ॥

It shows his devotion towards Lord and his curiosity to complete this commentary of *Sūryaśataka.*

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* French Institute of Pondicherry, UMIFRE 21 CNRS-MAEE, 11 Saint Lone's Street, PB-33, Pondicherry-605001, Ph-0413-2231642, E-mail: deviprasad@ifindia.org

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Fortunately Madhusūdana has himself recorded his nativity and the date, and also there are some internal evidences, which throw light on the nativity and other details of Madhusūdana. The mentioned man is made to the fact that, this Madhusūdana was different from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

He says पञ्चनदान्वयजन्मा माधवभट्टात्मजो रवेः शतकम् विवृणुते । The question arises as to the identity of 'पञ्चनद'. For, there are two places, which have this name, viz., Punjab, the land of five rivers and also Tiruvaiyaru, near Tanjor in Tamil Nadu where the great saint and composer of Carnatic music, Sri Tyagaraja lived. But Madhusūdana's reference is obviously to Punjab. This is corroborated by the fact that towards the end of the commentary, Madhusūdana speaks of his town as situated on the banks of river Yamunā.[1]

श्रीसूर्यजातटभुवि प्रथितं पृथिव्यां तद्गोकुलं नगरमस्ति बृहद्धनान्तः ।
तद्वासिना विरचिता मधुसूदनेन टीका मयूरशतकस्य रविप्रसादात् ॥

He is one of the seven sons of Mādhavabhaṭṭa who is a follower of Vallabha and devoted to lord Kṛṣṇa.[2]

श्रीमद्वल्लभदीक्षिताङ्गजनुषः श्रीविट्ठलेश प्रभोः
सप्तानां तनुजन्मनां सुकृतिनां पुत्राश्च पौत्रा अपि ।
तत्पुत्राश्च तदङ्गजाश्च सततं श्रीकृष्णसेवारताः
श्रौतस्मार्त्तविधिस्थिताः कृतधियो राजन्ति यत्रेन्द्रवत् ॥

Madhusūdana also speaks of his *guru* Bālakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa. This Bālakṛṣṇa is the author of *Alaṅkārasāra*, consisting of ten chapters. Bālakṛṣṇa is assigned to the period between 1625 and 1700 A.D. The work *Vidvatbhūṣaṇakāvya* is also ascribed to Bālakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa.

Date

Madhusūdana has recorded the year in which his commentary was written. He says:

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1. Mishra, Deviprasad (ed), *A Critical Edition and Study of the Commentaries of the Madhusūdana and Vaidyanātha on the Sūryaśataka of Mayūra*, Literary Circle, Jaipur, 2011, Verse - 5, under the commentaries on *Sūryaśataka, śloka* 102.
2. Ibid., Verse - 4 Under the commentaries on *Sūryaśataka*, śloka 102.

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गौरीशभूमिधरशीतकरैर्मितेऽब्दे (१७११)
श्रीविक्रमार्कसमयादिह वर्तमाने ।
माघे सितस्मरतिथौ(१३)विबुधेज्यवारे
ग्रन्थः समाप्तिमगमद्बुधयोग्य एषः ॥

The *Vikrama* year of 1711 corresponds to 1654 A.D.

गौरीशः = 11 (एकादशरुद्रः)
भूमिधर = 7 (लोकालोकाचलाः)
शीतकरः = 1 (चन्द्रः)

The number is 1171. अङ्कानां वामतो गतिः । There is the rule that such numbering should be rewritten from right to left. Now it becomes 1711 *Vikrama* year. As par the rule 57 should be deducted from this number. So this is equivalent to 1654 A.D.

This date matches with the date of Madhusūdana's teacher Bālakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa (1625 to 1700 A.D). Madhusūdana also remarks that the commentary is fit enough to be relished by the wise men 'बुधाः', since it was concluded on 'बुधवासरः' i.e., Wednesday.

However Madhusūdana observes the *śloka* 81 *kokānanda* could be an interpolation but yet he has commented upon it because of its beauty of *Anuprāsa* and *Yamaka*. Madhusūdana uses the terms *ṭikā* and *vyākhyā* to give a name of his commentary as *Bhāvabodhinī*. He gives split figure of the verses dedicated to the different aspects of *Sūrya*.

Name of the Commentary

It is very clear from the text of the commentary that Madhusūdana has given it the name 'भावबोधिनी'. The title is not mentioned in the beginning but towards the end of the commentary.

साधूनां कृपया भूयादाचन्द्रार्कप्रवर्तिनी ।
श्रीसूर्यशतकस्यात्र टीकेयं भावबोधिनी ॥

Works of Madhusūdana

In the *Sūryaśataka vyākhyā*, Madhusūdana has written a commentary

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on *Vidvatbhūṣaṇakāvya*, which does his preceptor Bālakṛṣṇa compose and which abounds in *Śabdacitrālaṇkāra*.

Madhusūdana has quoted profusely from *Amarakośa*. In addition to that he has quoted from *Anekārthakośa, Abhidhānasaṅgraha, Saptaśatī* of Śālivāhana, *Āryāsaptaśati* of Govardhanācārya, *Bṛhaspatismṛti, Raghuvaṃśa, Mālatīmādhava, Nṛsimhapurāṇa* and *Vṛttaratnākara*. But Madhusūdana explained it in a different light seeing that the cows are the daughters of Sun by quoting the *Bṛhaspatismṛti* धेनवोऽपि सूर्यादुत्पन्नाः । तदुक्तं बृहस्पतिस्मृतौ अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसूताश्च गावः इति । Madhusūdana also quotes the Upaniṣadas and the Purāṇas to show that only two types of men can pass through the sun to get *Mokṣa*. They are the sages and those who die in the battlefield.

पदच्छेदोऽन्वयोक्तिश्च समासादिविवेचनम् ।
पदार्थबोधस्तात्पर्यं व्याख्यावयवपञ्चकम् ॥

This traditional definition of a *vyākhyā*[3] speaks of the five-fold function served by it viz., 1) the splitting of the words, 2) the construction of the sentences 3) the explanation for the formation of compounds etc., 4) the meaning of words, and 5) the intention of the author. The commentary of Kumbhakarṇa on the *Caṇḍīśataka*[4] of Bāṇabhaṭṭa however mentions a six-fold function of *vyākhyā*.

पदच्छेदः पदार्थोक्तिर्विग्रहो वाक्ययोजना ।
आक्षेपश्च समाधानं षोढा व्याख्यानलक्षणम् ॥[5]

In the light of this definition, the commentator Madhusūdana on *Sūryaśataka*

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3. For details see Roodbergen, J.A.F., *Mallinātha's commentary on Kirātārjuniya*, Brill, Leiden, 1984, intro. p. 2.

4. *Caṇḍiśataka* with the commentary of Kumbhakarṇa, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, 1968, p. 10.

5. The reading in the second hemistich as *ākṣepaśca samādhānaṃ* is questioned by scholars who feel that it should be *ākṣepeṣu*. For details, see intro. to *The Raghupañcikā of Vallabhadeva*, by Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson, Egbert Forsten, Groningen, 2003, p. II.

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can justifiably claim to fulfill the requirements. While Madhusūdana uses the synonymous terms *ṭīkā* and *vyākhyā*[6].

Madhusūdana has more or less followed the same pattern of explanation. Madhusūdana has quoted profusely from the lexicons particularly from the *Amarakośa*. Under the verse 1, 2, 3, 23, 52, 60, 82, 83, respectively of the *Sūryaśataka* he has used these terms. भानू रश्मिदिवाकरौ । कल्यौसज्जनिरामयौ । बलिहस्तांशवः कराः । पादा रश्म्यङ्घ्रितुर्यांशा । कृतान्तानेहसोः काल । आरादूरसमीपयोः । हिरण्यं हेम हाटकम् । पतङ्गो पक्षिसुर्यौ च । He mentioned the source as *Amara*. On one or two occasions, Madhusūdana quotes from *Anekārthakośa* and *Abhidhāna Saṅgraha*. There is an instance where Madhusūdana has quoted from the *Saptaśatī* of Śālivāhana and the *Āryāsaptaśatī* of Govardhanācārya. While discussing the verse 24 *niḥśeṣeti* etc., Madhusūdana highlights the aspect of equilibrium, which is maintained by the great men at the time of happy tiding as well as calamity. The rays of the sun are indeed lofty at the time of rising as well as setting. Madhusūdana aptly quotes the *Sūbhāṣita,* which explains the steadiness of the mind of great men, like the sun, which is red in the dawn as well as dusk:[7]

सम्पत्तौ च विपत्तौ च महतामेकरूपता ।

Mahusūdana does not give the second half of this verse, which is too well known: उदेति सविता रक्तः रक्ताश्चास्तमने तथा ।

To further substantiate this, Madhusūdana quotes from the *Saptaśatī* of Śālivāhana, where it is said that the rays of the sun always point upwards in the dawn as well as dusk:[8]

तुङ्गो चिअ होइ मणो मणंसिणो अन्तिमासु वि दसासु ।
अत्थमणम्मि वि रैणो किरणा उद्धं चिअ स्फुरन्ति ॥

अतोऽस्य प्रति संस्कृतपाठः ।

तुङ्गमेव भवति मनोमनस्विनोऽन्तिमास्वपि दशासु ।
अस्तमनेऽपि रवेः किरणा ऊर्द्धमेव स्फुरन्ति ॥

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6. The Commentaries on *Sūryaśataka* under verse 102.
7. *Ibid.*, verse 24.
8. *Ibid.*

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गाथाप्रति संस्कृते यथा स्थितपदानामेव कथनीयत्वात् छन्दोभङ्गदोषो न गणनीयः ।

भिन्नं भासारुणस्य क्वचिदभिनवया विद्रुमाणां त्विषेव
त्वङ्गन्नक्षत्ररत्नद्युतिनिकरकरालान्तरालं क्वचिच्च ।
अन्तर्निःशेषकृष्णश्रियमुदधिमिव ध्वान्तराशिं पिबन्स्ता-
दौर्वः पूर्वोऽप्यपूर्वोऽग्निरिव भवदघप्लुष्टयेऽर्कावभासः ॥ ३५ ॥

Another instance is the explanation of the verse 35. The rays of the sun get mixed with the mild lustre of Aruṇa in the firmament, ridden with the stars to remove the darkness, not only external but also internal, just as the ocean, which is mixed with the colour of rubies, having gems inside and more so having the presence of the snake Ādiśeṣa, Lord Viṣṇu and Goddess Lakṣmī.

The rising of the sun is similar to submarine fire, but with the distinction that it can dispel the internal darkness or sin also. The apparent contradiction due to the words *pūrva* and *apūrva* has been well brought out in the commentary of Madhusūdana. The word *bhinnaṃ* used in the sense of 'mixed with' is corroborated by not merely the lexicon meaning but also by a verse quoted from the *Saptaśatī* of Govardhanācārya:[9] भिन्नमिति । भिदिः संसर्गार्थो धातुस्तस्य रूपम् । सम्भेद इति तत्प्रयोगः प्रसिद्धः । सम्भेदः सिन्धुसङ्गम इति कोषे । सङ्गममात्रेऽपि प्रयुक्तो गोवर्धनाचार्यकृत संस्कृतार्या सप्तशत्यां यथा....

दूरस्थापितहृदयो गूढरहस्यो निकामकाठिन्यः ।
आश्लेषो बालानां भवति खलानां च सम्भेदः ।। इति

Other works, which are quoted by name, are the *Manusmṛti, Bṛhaspatismṛti, Raghuvaṃśa, Mālatimādhava* and *Vṛttaratnākara*. It is rather strange that both the commentators have not mentioned Ānandavardhana who quotes the verse nine in his *Dhvanyāloka* as an illustration for *Śabdaśaktimūladhvani*, which suggests the similarity between the rays of the sun and the cows and also verse six in his *Dhvanyāloka*.[10] On the other hand Madhusūdana quotes the Bṛhaspatismṛti to show that the cows are the daughters of the sun. He

9. Ibid., verse 35.

10. *Dhvanyāloka*, Haridas Sanskrit Series, Banaras, 1964, pp. 167- 168 and 318.

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says:[11] धेनवोऽपि सूर्यादुत्पन्नाः । तदुक्तं - बृहस्पतिस्मृतौ अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसूताश्च गावः इति ।

The fact that the sun produces water has prompted the poet Mayūra to compare it with Brahmā who created water even before creating the world.

यः स्रष्टा आपः पुरस्तात् ।

It is very well reflected in the *Nāndīśloka* of the celebrated work *Abhijñānaśākuntala*:[12]

या सृष्टिः स्रष्टुराद्या वहति विधिहुतं या हविर्या च होत्री
ये द्वे कालं विधत्तः श्रुतिविषयगुणा या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वम् ।
यामाहुः सर्वबीजप्रकृतिरिति यया प्राणिनः प्राणवन्तः
प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रपन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिरष्टाभिरीशः ॥

As the author Kālidāsa has been given the water, of all creations first, Significantly the commentator Madhusūdana on the *Sūryaśataka* have quoted Manu to show that water is the first creation. In the Upaniṣads, however the from the *Ātmā* creation is in the order of Space, Air, Fire, Water, Earth, Plants and so on:[13] तस्माद्वा एतस्मादात्मन आकाशः सम्भूतः । आकाशात् वायुः । वायोः अग्निः । अग्नेः आपः । अद्भ्यः पृथिवी ॥

मौलीन्दोर्मैषमोषीत्द्युतिमिति वृषभाङ्केन यः शङ्किनेव
प्रत्यग्रोद्घाटिताम्भोरुहकुहरगुहासुस्थितेनेव धात्रा ।
कृष्णेन ध्वान्तकृष्णस्वतनुपरिभवत्रस्तुनेव स्तुतोऽलं
त्राणाय स्तात्तनीयानपि तिमिररिपोरर्चिषामुद्गमो वः ॥१६॥

While commenting on the verse 16, Madhusūdana explains the significance of *'api'* in the line त्राणाय स्तात्तनीयानपि तिमिररिपोरर्चिषामुद्गमो वः । The rays of the sun, which although very thin, are capable of protecting others. For, the thinness is not detrimental to its capacity to protect others. In this context Madhusūdana

11. Commentaries on *Sūryaśataka* under verse 9.
12. Belvalkar S.K., *Kālidāsa Granthāvalī, Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1965, 1.1.
13. For more details see Frans Bārtmans "*āpaḥ*, The sacred waters" B.R. Publishing corporate, Delhi, 1961

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quotes the famous line from the Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (XI. 1) without giving the source:[14] तेजसां हि न वयः समीक्ष्यते । Madhusūdana seizes the opportunity to quote from the Upaniṣad and Purāṇas, particularly, while commenting on verses, which glorify the supreme divinity of the sun. The wise man understands the orb of the sun as the *Ṛgveda*, the rays as the *Sāmaveda* and the *Puruṣa* within as *Yajus*. In this context Madhusūdana quotes the well-known verse which is recited as part of the *Sandhyāvandana*:[15] ध्येयः सदा सवितृ मण्डलमध्यवर्ती नारायण इति । This verse is in fact from the *Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa*[16] but Madhusūdana mentions of it as said in the Purāṇa without mentioning the name *Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa*:[17] पुराणोक्त्या प्रत्यक्ष इव ।

Madhusūdana discusses this point, quoting from the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* and *Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*:[18] आदित्यो वा एष एतन्मण्डलं तपति तत्र ता ऋचस्तदृचां मण्डलम् स ऋचां लोकोऽथ य एष एतस्मिन्मण्डलेऽर्चिर्दीप्यते तानि सामानि स साम्नां लोकोऽथ य एष एतस्मिन्मण्डलेऽर्चिषि पुरुषस्तानि यजूंषि स यजुषां मण्डलं स यजुषां लोकः सैषा त्रय्येव विद्या तपति य एषोऽन्तरादित्ये हिरण्मयः पुरुष इति ।

In another place he mentions that only the two types of men pass through the sun after the death, to reach the stage of *Mokṣa*. They are the sages with self-control and those who die in battlefield. He quotes the famous saying given below, ascribing it to the Purāṇa:[19]

द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके सूर्यमण्डलभेदिनौ ।
परिव्राड् योगयुक्तश्च रणे चाभिमुखो हतः ॥

The expression *'purāṇavacanāt'* also is understood as 'ancient saying' since the verse is mentioned in the collection of *Sūbhāṣitas*. But it appears that Madhusūdana has meant it as mentioned in Purāṇa just as in the case of the other quotation from *Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa* about which he says *purāṇavacanāt*.

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14. The Commentaries on *Sūryaśataka* under verse 16.
15. *Ibid.*, verse 90
16. Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa 62.17.
17. The Commentaries on the *Sūryaśataka*, under verse 90.
18. *Ibid.*, verse 90.
19. *Ibid.*, verse 73.

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प्रातः शैलाग्ररङ्गे रजनिजवनिकापायसंलक्ष्यलक्ष्मी-
विक्षिप्यापूर्वपुष्पाञ्जलिमुडुनिकरं सूत्रधारायमाणः ।
यामेष्वङ्केष्विवाहः कृतरुचिषु चतुर्ष्वेव यातः प्रतिष्ठा-
मव्यात्प्रस्तावयन्वो जगदटनमहानाटिकां सूर्यसूतः ॥ ५०॥

Madhusūdana's acquaintance with the treatises on poetics and dramaturgy has helped him to choose between two readings. Mayūra himself has displayed it through knowledge of dramaturgy, many terms of which he has made use of in verse 50, where he describes Aruṇa. Commenting on this, Madhusūdana mentions the work *Daśarūpaka* by name as dealing with the different types of *nāṭikās*. Interestingly, he observes, that there is a variant reading *'prastārayan'* in the place of *prastāvayan*. But that reading is not correct, taking into account the context and the tenor of the description. The reading *prastāvayan* very well fits in, since *prastāvanā* or prologue is an integral part of the Sanskrit dramas. क्वचित्प्रस्तारयन्निति पाठो वर्तते सत्वनाकरः । नाट्ये प्रस्तावनाया एव प्रसिद्धेः ।

अक्षे रक्षां निबध्य प्रतिसरवलयैर्योजयन्त्यो युगाग्रं
धूःस्तम्भे दग्धधूपाः प्रहितसुमनसो गोचरे कूबरस्य
चर्चाश्चक्रे ददत्यो मलयजपयसा सिद्धवध्वस्त्रिसन्ध्यं
वन्दन्ते यं द्युमार्गे स दहतु दुरितान्यंशुमत्स्यन्दनो वः ॥६७॥

The verse 67 *akṣe rakṣāmiti* speaks of the *siddha* women worshipping the sun with the application of turmeric at the axis and showing the incense sticks which are lit. Making an observation on the word *dagdhadhūpāḥ*, Madhusūdana says that this reading is preferable to *digdhadhūpāḥ*, for the reason that the word *digdha* means smeared with poison and not just smeared with any thing:[20] पूजार्थं दिग्धधूपा इत्यत्र दग्धधूप इति पाठ्यं अश्लीलपद प्रयोगदोष निवारणाय । दिग्धोनिदिग्ध उपचितो धूपो याभिस्ताः । दिग्धशब्दोऽपि विषार्थे शक्तः ॥

He further substantiates it with an observation made in the case of the following verse from the *Mālatimādhava* of Bhavabhūti:[21]

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20. *Ibid.*, verse 67.

21. *Mālatīmādhava* 1.32, Ed. by Telang, R., Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1918, p. 33.

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यान्त्या मुहुर्वलितकन्धरमाननं त-
दावृत्तवृन्तशतपत्रनिभं वहन्त्या ।
दिग्धोऽमृतेन च विषेण च पक्ष्मलाक्ष्या
गाढं निखात इव मे हृदये कटाक्षः ॥

This verse is quoted by many *Ālaṅmkārikās* as illustration for different concepts in literary criticism. The *Daśarūpaka* quotes this as an example for *Vidhānas*, which gives pain as well as pleasure and which is one of the twelve sub divisions of the *Mukhasandhi*[22]. He gives the same verse as an example for the mutual love between the lovers. (*anyonya anurāga*)[23]

This verse of *Mālatimādhava* is quoted by Kuntaka also in the third *uṇmeṣa* of *Vakroktijīvita*[24]. But what is intriguing in this context is Madhusūdana's comment that the *Ālaṅkārikās* have found in this verse, the defect called[25] *'punaruktidoṣa'* or redundancy: आलङ्कारिकैः पुनरुक्तत्वेन दूषितः । तथापि प्रसिद्ध पाठाद्वैलक्षण्येन दिहेरुपचयोऽर्थ आश्रणीयः ।

But it is not clear as to whom Madhusūdana means by the word *Ālaṅkārikaiḥ*. Even the commentators like Tripurārī and Jagaddhara have not pointed out any defect in this verse as such. It only points out the fact that Madhusūdana was well-versed with the principles of literary criticism, which he makes use of, for interpreting the readings or the probability of readings.

Madhusūdana has fortunately given a lot of information about himself, his family and even the year of composition. He relies over the traditional story of the relationship between Mayūra and Bāṇabhaṭṭa. He refers to the composition of Mayūrāṣtaka though he gives only one verse of it.

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22. *Daśarūpaka*, Ed. Bholasankar Vyasa, Chowkhambha Vidyabhavan, Varanasi, 1993, p. 23.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

24. *Vakroktijīvita*, (ed.) S.K.De., Pub., Firma, K.L. Calcutta, 1961, p. 200.

25. This verse is not mentioned in the list of demerits in Bhavabhūti by Dr. V.V. Mirashi. For details, see Mirashi V.V., Bhavabhūti, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi. 1974, pp. 336-343.

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Strangely the only verse given by Madhusūdana also reads *kā eṣā*. Madhusūdana declares that he did not learn the *Sūryaśataka* from his teacher nor has seen any earlier commentary. But towards the end, he says that he has seen the variant readings in the different books and has decided upon the most probable reading and commented upon it[26]. There are many examples where Madhusūdana defends the reading preferred and chosen by him. For instance in the second verse:

भक्तिप्रह्वाय दातुं कमलपुटकुटि - कोटरक्रोडलीनां
लक्ष्मीमाक्रष्टुकामा इव कमलवनोद्भाटनं कुर्वते ये ।
कालाकारान्धकाराननपतितजगत्साध्वसध्वंसकल्या
कल्याणं वः क्रियासुः किसलयरुचयस्ते करा भास्करस्य ॥२॥

He prefers the reading ध्वंसकल्याः instead of ध्वंसकल्पाः । Besides going well with the contextual meaning, the word कल्याः is suited to the usage of *Anuprāsa*[27], which we know as Mayūra's forte. Another example is the verse:

धारारायोऽधनायापदि सपदि करालम्बभूताः प्रपाते
तत्त्वालोकैकदीपास्त्रिदिवपतिपुरप्रस्थितौ विघ्न एव ।
निर्वाणोद्योगियोगिप्रगमनिजतनुद्वारि वेत्रायमाणा-
स्त्रायन्तां तीव्रभानोर्दिवसमुखसुखाः रश्मयः कश्मलाद्वः ॥११॥

In the above verse however the last word preferred by him is *kalmaṣāt* instead of *kaśmalāt*. But in the beginning of the commentary on this verse, he has adopted the word *kaśmalāt*[28]. The expression धारारायोऽधनायापदि is preferred by Madhusūdana. To prove the suitability of धनाया he quotes गर्द्धो धनायेत्यमरः as Amara's. But it is not to be seen in the *Amarakośa*.

क्ष्मां क्षेपीयः क्षपाम्भः शिशिरतरतलस्पर्शतर्षादृतेव
द्रागाशा नेतुमाशाद्विरदकरसरः पुष्कराणीव बोधम् ।
प्रातः प्रोल्लङ्घ्य विष्णोः पदमपि घृणयेवातिवेगाद्वीय-
स्युद्दाम द्योतमाना दहतु दिनपतेर्दुर्निमित्तं द्युतिर्वः ॥२२॥

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26. *Critical Edition of the commentaries on Sūryaśataka,* verse 1, p. 24.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 29, line - 1.

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While explaining the verse 22 Madhusūdana speaks of two possibilities of splitting the compound शिशिरतरतलस्पर्शतर्षादृतेव namely as *sparśa+tarṣāt+rutā+iva*, the word *rutā* is explained as *prāptā* based on the root *'ṛgatau'*. The other possibility is that, *sparśa+tarṣāt+ṛtā+iva*, where the word *ṛtā* is used in the sense of satyaṁ. However he himself prefers the former explanation *'rutā' prāptā*.

रत्नानां मण्डनाय प्रभवति नियतोद्देशलब्धावकाशं
वह्नेर्दार्वादि दग्धुं निजजडिमभरात्कर्तुमानन्दमिन्दोः ।
यत्तु त्रैलोक्यभूषावधिरघदहनं ह्लादि वृष्ट्याशु तद्धो
बाहुल्योत्पाद्यकार्याधिकतरमवतादेकमेवार्कमोजः ॥३०॥

Madhusūdana indulges in a serious debate in preferring the better reading in the verse 30 रत्नां मण्डनाय प्रभवति. He prefers the expression *ārkamojaḥ* to *ārkatejaḥ*. He draws our attention to the fact that in many books, the reading is given as *ārkatejaḥ*:[29] अत्र बहुषु पुस्तकेषु एकमेवार्कतेज इति पाठो दृष्टस्तत्र तेजः शब्दस्य समासान्तर्गत्वेन रत्नादिभिरन्वयासामर्थ्यादस्मन्मतस्येकमेवार्कमोज इत्याकरः पाठः प्रतिभाति ।

He asserts that *ojaḥ* is a better word, to give a sense of effulgence, which can be construed well with *ratnānāṃ*. He further says that between the two readings he prefers the difficult word, since Mayūra is fond of using such difficult words. यद्यपि काव्यान्तरप्रयोग दृष्टान्तबलेन सोऽपि पाठः समर्थयितुं शक्यते तथापि श्रीसूर्यानुगृहीतस्य मयूरभट्टस्य मुखात् क्लिष्टा पाठोन्नतिः सरतीति । एकमेवार्कमोज इति पाठोऽस्माभिर्निरधारि । कुत्रचित्पुस्तके अनेनैवापरितोषेण एकमर्कास्य तेज इति पाठो लिखितः ।

पूर्वाद्रेर्धातुरागस्तरुषु किसलयो विद्रुमौघः समुद्रे
दिङ्भातङ्गोतमाङ्गेष्वभिनवनिहितः सान्द्रसिन्दूररेणुः ।
सीम्नि व्योम्नश्च हेम्नः सुरशिखरिभुवो जायते यः प्रकाशः
शोणिम्नासौ खरांशोरुषसि दिशतु वः शर्म शोभैकदेशः ॥४१॥

While many texts of *Sūryaśataka* have the reading *'mūrdhnyadre'* as the first word of the verse 41, Madhusūdana has taken the reading *'pūrvādreḥ'*. However he mentions that there is a variant reading as *'pūrvādrau'*. He observes that even if *'pūrvādreḥ'* is chosen as the reading, it should be construed as *"pūrvādreḥ uparibhāge"*, since these words are used in locative

29. *Ibid.*, under verse 30.

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case such as *taruṣu, samudre, uttamāṅgeṣu,* and *sīmni* etc. Otherwise the verse will suffer from the defect called *kramabhaṅga*[30]. पूर्वाद्रेरित्यत्रोपरिभागे इत्यद्याहार्यम् । पूर्वाद्राविति वा पाठ्यं सर्वत्र सप्तमी निर्देशेन अत्र क्रमभङ्गप्रसङ्गात् ।

आक्रान्त्या वाह्यमानं पशुमिव हरिणा वाहकोऽग्र्यो हरीणां
भ्राम्यन्तं पक्षपाताज्जगति समरुचिः सर्वकर्मैकसाक्षी ।
शत्रुं नेत्रश्रुतीनामवजयति वयोज्येष्ठभावे समेऽपि
स्थाम्ना धाम्नां निधिर्यः स भवदघनुदे नूतनः स्तादनूरुः ॥५१॥

While Madhusūdana is keen in bringing out the different shades of meaning in an expression, he seems to be against over enthusiasm in reading into the text. Explaining the verse 51, he says that expression *'vayojyeṣṭhabhāva'* pertains to Aruṇa who is elder in age (*vayaḥ*) to Garuḍa and also elder among the birds (*vayaḥ*). To explain the word *jya* as 'elder' or 'praise-worthy' as found in some commentaries deserves to be condemned.[31] वृद्धशब्दस्य ज्यादेशे ज्य चेति प्रशस्य शब्दस्य च ज्यादेशे रूपम् । अत्र क्वचित्पुस्तके किञ्चिद् व्याख्यानं लिखितमस्ति तदत्यसङ्गततत्वादूष्य-कक्षायामथ गण्यत्वेन नोद्भावितम् ।

प्रत्युप्तस्तप्तहेमोज्ज्वरुचिरचलः पद्मरागेण येन
ज्यायः किञ्जल्कपुञ्जो यदलिकुलशितेरम्बरेन्दीवरस्य ।
कालव्यालस्य चिह्नं महिततममहोमूर्ध्नि रत्नं महद्य-
द्दीप्तांशोः प्रातरव्यात्तदविकलजगन्मण्डनं मण्डलं वः ॥७५॥

Some times Madhusūdana makes castigating remarks on scribes who make mistakes while writing. Under the verse 75, he remarks that the word in the second line of the verse is puñjaḥ and not the puñjaṃ which has crept into some books due to the ignorance of the scribe: पुञ्जमिति क्वचित्पुस्तकपाठस्तु भ्रमाल्लिखितः केनचित् ।

कोकानन्दाप्तिदक्षो नवनलिनवनी नित्यनिद्राविपक्षः
प्रक्कानां कल्पवृक्षः कलिकलुषजले मज्जातां नौसदृक्षः ।
क्षोणीकक्षादिदृक्षुः परिजनजनुषां वन्ध्यताजातरक्षुः
प्रातः शैलारुरुक्षुर्दिशतु तवशिवं सर्वलोकैकचक्षुः ॥८१॥

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30. *Ibid.*, verse 40.

31. *Ibid.*, verse 51.

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In this context it should be mentioned that Madhusūdana has incorporated this verse beginning with *'kokānandeti'* as the eighty-first verse of *Sūryaśataka* even though this verse is not seen in many books. Further its inclusion will go against the claim of the poet who says towards the end that he has composed one hundred verses.[32]

श्लोकाः लोकस्य भूत्यै शतमिति रचिताः श्रीमयूरेण भक्त्या
युक्तश्चैतान्पठेद्यः सकृदपि मनुजः सर्वपापैर्विमुक्तः ।
आरोग्यं सत्कवित्वं मतिमतुलबलं कान्तिमायुः प्रकर्ष
विद्यामैश्वर्यमर्थं सुखमपि लभते सोऽत्र सूर्यप्रसादात् ॥१०२॥

Not withstanding the fact that many people considered this verse as an interpolation, Madhusūdana has commented upon it, as he claims that it is a fine instance of *'anuprāsa'*[33] एकाशीतितमं कोकानन्देत्यादि पद्यन्तु बहुषु पुस्तकेष्वलिखितत्वात्कविना पद्यशतकस्यैव ग्रन्थ समाप्तौ स्वकृतेरुक्तत्वाच्च प्रक्षिप्तमनुमीयते । तथाप्यनुप्रासचमत्कारेण श्रीसूर्यवर्णने न च इदमपि व्याख्यायते ।

Another unique feature of Madhusūdana is that he makes an observation as to the number of verses, which describe the particular aspect of the sun or his associates such as the rays, the chariot, Aruṇa and the horses. Madhusūdana makes the observation as given below: इति चिचत्वारिंशत्पद्यैः श्रीसूर्यरश्मिवर्णनम् ।[34] अथ षड्भिः पद्यैरश्ववर्णनम् ।[35] इत्यश्ववर्णनम् ।[36] अथ द्वादशभिः पद्यैररुणवर्णनम् ।[37] इत्यरुणवर्णनम् ।[38] अथैकादशभिः पद्यैः रथवर्णनम् ।[39] इति रथवर्णनम् ।[40] अथाष्टभिः पद्यैर्मण्डलवर्णनम् ।[41] इति

32. *Ibid.*, verse 102.
33. *Ibid.*, verse 81.
34. *Ibid.*, verse 43.
35. *Ibid.*, verse 44.
36. *Ibid.*, verse 49.
37. *Ibid.*, verse 50.
38. *Ibid.*, verse 61.
39. *Ibid.*, verse 62.
40. *Ibid.*, verse 72.
41. *Ibid.*, verse 73.

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मण्डलवर्णनम् ।[42] अथ एकविंशत्यापद्यैः श्रीसूर्यवर्णनम् ।[43] अथैकेन पद्येनैतत्पद्यशतकपाठफलमाह ।[44]

Yet another case where Madhusūdana's scholarship is reflected in the observation made by him while explaining the verse 61.

सीदन्तोऽन्तर्निमज्जज्जडखुरमुसलाः सैकते नाकनद्याः
स्कन्दन्तः कन्दरालीः कनकशिखरिणो मेखलासु स्खलन्तः
दूरं दूर्वास्थलोत्कामरकतदृषदि स्थास्नवो यन्नयाताः
पूष्णोऽश्वाः पूरयंस्तैस्तदवतु जवनैर्हुंकृतेनाग्रणीर्वः ॥६१॥

The verse describes the skills of Aruṇa enhancing the skill of the horses, to cover the long distance. Explaining his concern to cover the distance at the stipulated period of time for which the speed is required, Madhusūdana recalls the statement from the Purāṇa to show the sun covers the distance of 2202 *'yojanas'* in a half second.[45]

योजनानां सहस्रे द्वे द्वे शते द्वे च योजने ।
एकेन निमिषार्द्धेन क्रममाण नमोस्तुते ॥

There are many instances where Madhusūdana has quoted the *sūtras* of *Pāṇini,* while explaining the formation of compounds or verbal termination. These *sūtras* are given in the footnote under the corresponding verses.

तीव्रं निर्वाणहेतुर्यदपि च विपुलं यत्प्रकर्षेण चाणु
प्रत्यक्षं यत्परोक्षं यदिह यदपरं नश्वरं शाश्वतं च ।
यत्सर्वस्य प्रसिद्धं जगति कतिपये योगिनो यद्विदन्ति
ज्योतिस्तद्द्विप्रकारं सवितुरवतु वो बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं च ॥२९॥

While commenting on the verse 29 तीव्रं निर्वाणहेतुर्यदपि च विपुलं, other says that there is a variant reading *'sarvasya'* instead of *'sarvatra'*. Incidentally, Madhusūdana has taken the reading as *'sarvasya'* only.

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42. *Ibid.*, verse 80.
43. *Ibid.*, verse 81.
44. *Ibid.*, verse 102.
45. *Ibid.*, verse 61.

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Other commentators have evidently analysed the context of the verses in the *Sūryaśataka*. He observes that the verses exclusively describe one or the other aspect of *Sūrya*, his rays, the charioteer, the chariot, and the horses. Such an observation has made by Madhusūdana either under the category of *'kulaka'* or at the end of them.

He says the first 43 verses describe the rays of the sun, followed by six verses, the description of the horses. Twelve verses following these describing Aruṇa the Charioteer, after which eleven verses are dedicated to the chariot. After these eight verses describe the *Maṇḍala* or orb of the Sun followed by twenty verses in praise of Bhaga. The final verse is the *'phalastuti'*.[46]

तत्र त्रयश्चत्वारिंशत्पद्यै रश्मिवर्णनम् । ततः षड्भिः पद्यैर्हयवर्णनम् । ततो द्वादशीभिररुणवर्णनम् । तत एकादशभिः रथवर्णनम् । ततोऽष्टभिः पद्यैर्मण्डलवर्णनम् । ततो विंशतिपद्यैर्भगवद्वर्णनम् । तत एकं फलस्तुतिपद्यमिति विवेको बोध्यः ।

This observation is indeed very significant in throwing light on the number of verses in the work as well as in preventing any interpolations or omissions. The numbers given by him, when added together resulted in a total of 101 including the *'phalastuti'*.

It has been already observed earlier that Madhusūdana was so much impressed with the *anuprāsa* of the verse that he included it as the eightyfirst verse, thereby culminating in a total of 102 verses.

Madhusūdana frequently quoted the *sutras* of *Pāṇini* to explain for mention of compounds or verbs.

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46. *Ibdi.*, above verse 1.

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SVĀMINĀRĀYAṆA'S PERSPECTIVE ON *ĀŚRAYA:* AN ANALYSIS OF THE DEVOTIONAL INCLINATIONS OF UDDHAVA AND THE *GOPĪS*

Sadhu Bhadresadasa & Sadhu Brahmasetudasa

Introduction

The 19th-*Century* German philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche describes humans to be "the sick animal", forever experiencing a drastic difference between what they want and what they have.[1] In an eternal quest to cure this "sickness", humankind has undertaken a plethora of pursuits, one of which is the creation of religious texts intended to draw readers to an ultimate path. One such scripture is the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* which presents faith in the Supreme Being as the solution to this sickness. The author, Veda Vyāsa, proclaims that the *Bhāgavata* discusses ten key concepts. He then puts forth that the first nine concepts are discussed in order to elucidate understanding of the tenth - that is, the concept of *āśraya*, or the Supreme Being. He writes:

अत्र सर्गो विसर्गश्च स्थानं पोषणमूतयः ।
मन्वन्तरेशानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥
दशमस्य विशुद्ध्यर्थं नवानामिह लक्षणम् ।
वर्णयन्ति महात्मानः श्रुतेनार्थेन चाञ्जसा ॥[2]

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* BAPS Swaminarayan Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, BAPS Swaminarayan Mandir, Sarangpur, Ta: Barvala, Dist.: Botad, Gujarat, India-382451, (M): +91 9725205602/8

1. Nietzsche, p.88
2. Sl. 2/10/1-2(Vol. I, p.112); References to the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* cited in this paper are drawn from H.G. Shastri's critical edition of the text, published by the B.J. Institute of Learning and Research in Ahmedabad (see bibliography).

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[Creation (up to Virāṭa Puruṣa), creation (by Brahma), sustenance, protection, karma-vāsanā, the dharma of Manu and the subsequent kings, incidents from the lives of the avatārs, destruction, liberation and God's form are (described) here (in the Bhāgavata). Those of true knowledge proclaim that the (afore mentioned) nine topics have been discussed here to present a clear conception of the tenth. This they have deduced in some cases from the actual words of the text itself and in other cases from their purport.][3]

Vyāsa thus positions understanding of God and faith in his form as the *Bhāgavata's* central theme. Further, by using the word *āśraya* to refer to God, he suggests that the Supreme Being is worthy of seeking for shelter. The *Bhāgavata* builds upon this pivotal concept of faith by recounting incidents related to the *avatārs* and their devotees. The text also provides models for sustaining and developing such faith, or conviction, in one's life. Parabrahman Puruṣottama Svāmināràyaṇa was born in the 19th century and is widely held to be the supreme entity. He offers a novel explanation of this central theme of the *Bhāgavata* in his discourses, compiled in the form of a Gujarāti text called the *Vacanāmṛta*. Svāmināràyaṇa analyses the accounts given in the *Bhāgavata* and explains that such faith is characterized by different inclinations, which he coins as *'aṅgas'*[4]. This theme is hinted at in the *Bhāgavata* itself[5] and is also described by the 16th-century theologian Rūpa Gosvāmi[6]. But Svāmināràyaṇa goes a step further by clearly delineating

3. The translations presented in this paper are taken from the Gita Press's 2012 edition of the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa*. The translation of this specific verse has been modified by the author of this paper in accordance with subsequent verses presented in the *Bhāgavata* in order that the translation leaves as few words as possible in Sanskrit.

4. The *Vācaspatyam* Sanskrit dictionary defines *'aṅga'* as 'body'. Taken in this sense, a devotee's *aṅga*, as described by Svāmināràyaṇa, is the physical embodiment of his or her conviction in God. Conviction itself is an intangible idea, whereas a person's *aṅga* is the devotional inclination through which conviction gains voice. It can thus be said that person's conviction is characterized by different *aṅgas*.

5. Sl. 10/40/17 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.125)

6. Haberman, p.409

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the different inclinations, discussing their interplay and examining their relative effects. He argues, first, that no *aṅga* is solitary, but is instead supported by other, subordinate *aṅgas*. He also purports that these inclinations are one and the same in terms of both fruit and admire, rather than forming a "hierarchical ladder"[7]. This expository paper analyses largely primary sources - namely, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Vacanāmṛta* - to examine the concept of *'aṅgas'* as purported by Svāmināràyaṇa. In doing so, it draws upon Svāmināràyaṇa's description of the relationship that Uddhava and the *gopīs* respectively held with Shri Kṛṣṇa.

The *Bhāgavata's* place in the Svāmināràyaṇa *Saṃpradāya*

Bhagavān Svāmināràyaṇa was well-versed in *Sanātana Dharma's* scriptures from a young age. Upon settling in Gujarat and establishing the Svāmināràyaṇa *saṃpradāya,* he often relied on the scriptures as a key pedagogical tool. One such scripture he often referred to was the *Bhāgavata.* Of the 262 discourses that make up the *Vacanāmṛta,* in fact, 43 discourses directly quote the *Bhāgavata.*[8] Other than this, many other discourses are either centred on or refer to the *Bhāgavata,* its *ākhyānas* and its defining concepts. Hence, along with other scriptures, the *Bhāgavata* plays a central role in the philosophical diorama of the Svāmināràyaṇa movement.

The Concept of *Aṅgas* as Described in the *Vacanāmṛta*

The *Bhāgavata's* concept of faith in the Supreme Being is referred to by many terms in the *Vacanāmṛta,* including *upāsanā*[9],

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Vacanāmṛta,* Appendix.

9. *Vacanāmṛta,* Gaḍhaḍā I-56; *Bhagavān* Svāmināràyaṇa's *Vacanāmṛta* is divided into sections reflecting the village or town wherein the respective discourse was given. Svāmināràyaṇa spoke, for instance, in Gaḍhaḍā, Sāraṅgapura, Kāriyani, and Loyā, amongst other locations. Each discourse has been given a number to reflect its place in the sequence of discourses given in the respective village or town. Svāmināràyaṇa's discourses given in Gaḍhaḍā are voluminous, and thus are divided into three sections - Gaḍhaḍā I, Gaḍhaḍā II and Gaḍhaḍā III. The references used in this paper reflect this traditional referencing system, as page numbers widely vary amongst the numerous editions of this text.

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svarūpaniṣṭhā[10], *niścaya*[11] and *niṣṭhā*[12]. Just as the *Bhāgavata*, the *Vacanāmṛta* refers to such understanding as the cause for ultimate liberation.[13] Svāminārāyaṇa says, for instance, "Many people become realised *yogīs*, many become omniscient, many become deities, and thus attain countless types of greatness, including the highest state of enlightenment. All this is achieved through the force of the *upāsanā* of God. Without *upāsanā*, though, nothing can be accomplished."[14]

In addition to stressing the importance of having faith in God, Svāminārāyaṇa guides devotees towards the practical application of such conviction into their lives. He does not just praise exemplars, but he also analyses their characteristics and describes how such models can be utilized to overcome pitfalls on the spiritual path. In doing so, he uses a unique method of classifying these archetypes according to their devotional inclinations, or *aṅgas*. He explains that such conviction takes root in devotees in different forms, according to their inclination. He also puts forth that every devotee, whether knowingly or not, possesses a *aṅga*[15]. Among the inclinations that Svāminārāyaṇa enumerates in different discourses are those of blind faith, love and understanding[16]; *dharma, jñāna, vairāgya* and *bhakti*[17]; faith, wisdom, courage and affection[18]; amorousness and wisdom of

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10. Gaḍhaḍā II-16; the majority of this paper relies on references from the *Vacanāmṛta* and the *Bhāgavata*. The term *'ibid'* is thus not used in reference to these two texts in order to prevent repetition.
11. Gaḍhaḍā II-14, Vaḍatāla 1, Loyā 3
12. Gaḍhaḍā I-72
13. Gaḍhaḍā I-57, II-21, etc.
14. Gaḍhaḍā I-56
15. Vacanāmṛta, Gaḍhaḍā I-47
16. Gaḍhaḍā I-33
17. Gaḍhaḍā I-47
18. Loyā-2

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the *ātman*[19]; fidelity and courage[20]; *ātma*-realisation, fidelity and servitude[21]; and knowledge and affection[22]. Svāminārāyaṇa is careful to note in his description that all inclinations, inevitably just forms through which faith finds expression, are equal in terms of prestige and lead to the same fruit, whether it is God's pleasure[23], freedom from death, a feeling of having completed all endeavours,[24] eminence on the spiritual path, liberation[25], or extreme bliss[26]. While delineating these *aṅgas,* he is clear to note that no *aṅga* is solitary. Rather, a person's *aṅga* is her or her spiritual forte, yet is necessarily accompanied by other, subordinate inclinations.

To illustrate the different inclinations, their interplay and their fruits, Svāminārāyaṇa draws upon accounts from smṛti texts, such as the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata.* Characters he refers to quite often are Uddhava and the *gopīs,* whose accounts are related in the *Bhāgavata.* What follows is a discussion of the inclinations and their respective fruits that Svāminārāyaṇa observed in Uddhava and the *gopīs.* It will be shown, according to Svāminārāyaṇa's discourses and the *Bhāgavata's* description, that Uddhava and the *gopīs* possessed faith that was characterized by divergent *aṅgas.* In particular, Uddhava's faith was typified by an understanding of Kṛṣṇa's transcendental greatness, while the *gopīs'* faith was informed by loving devotion, or *premalakṣaṇā bhakti.* Yet neither Uddhava's nor the *gopīs' aṅgas* were solitary, as Uddhava's *aṅga* of understanding was supported by *bhakti,* and the *gopīs' aṅga* of *bhakti* was supported by understanding. Both Uddhava

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19. Gaḍhaḍā II-3
20. Gaḍhaḍā II-5
21. Gaḍhaḍā II-62
22. Gaḍhaḍā III-1
23. Gaḍhaḍā I-33
24. Loyā-2
25. Gaḍhaḍā II-3
26. Gaḍhaḍā II-62

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and the *gopīs*, moreover, are lauded in the same way and also experienced the same fruits, suggesting the equal footing enjoyed by the respective *aṅgas*.

Uddhava from Svāmināràyaṇa's Perspective

Uddhava's account appears primarily in the *Bhāgavata's* third, tenth and eleventh books. Specifically, the third book's first through fourth cantos contain an account of Uddhava's conversation with Vidura[27]. The tenth book's 43rd and 44th cantos describe his interaction with the *gopīs*[28], whereas the eleventh book's sixth through 29th cantos recount the *Uddhavagītā*, or Kṛṣṇa's final teachings to Uddhava[29]. Through these cantos, the *Bhāgavata* introduces Uddhava as Kṛṣṇa's dear friend and minister. Moreover, it shows him to be highly intelligent[30] and learned, noting that he had studied the *Nītiśataka* from Bṛhaspati himself. At the same time, he was of quiet disposition[31]. Described as *Mahābhāgavata* and *Kṛṣṇaparigrahe Mukhyam*[32], he was the leader of the Yādava clan.[33] However, although Uddhava possessed such a lustrous profile, Svāmināràyaṇa draws upon Uddhava's descriptions of Kṛṣṇa in the third and tenth books to reveal that Uddhava's true strength was his faith, which was characterized by an understanding of God's transcendental greatness.[34] Making such observations repeatedly, he strays from the exegetical norm of primarily highlighting the *gopīs' bhakti* and instead gives similar acclaim to Uddhava's understanding.

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27. Vol. I, p.119-132
28. Vol. IV, Part I, p.136-145
29. Vol. IV, Part II, p.20 97
30. Sl. 10/43/1 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.136)
31. Sl. 3/1/25 (Vol. I, p.121)
32. Sl. 3/4/24 (Vol. I, p.131)
33. Sl. 3/4/28 (Vol. I, p.131)
34. Vacanāmṛta Sāraṅgapura 3, Kāriyāṇī 9, Gaḍhaḍā II-4, III-30, Kāriyāṇī 9, Loyā 16, 17.

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Uddhava - Enmeshed in Kṛṣṇa's Greatness

Uddhava's understanding of Kṛṣṇa's greatness shines forth on numerous occasions in the *Bhāgavata*. In the third book, for instance, Vidura approaches Uddhava and asks to hear news of Kṛṣṇa. Uddhava answers by first lamenting the *Yādavas*, who lived with Kṛṣṇa, yet were unable to understand Kṛṣṇa's true greatness, despite being so intelligent. He says:

दुर्भगो बत लोकोयं यदवो नितरामपि ।
ये संवसन्तो न विदुर्हरिं मीना इवोडुपम् ॥

[Unfortunate is the world, but even more so the Yādavas, who lived with God, but did not recognize him, like fish who do not recognize the moon.][35]

Uddhava then goes on for almost two and a half cantos, or about 75 verses, recounting *Bhagavān* Kṛṣṇa's glory as he understood it. Amongst other *līlā*, he recounts the swiftness with which Kṛṣṇa defeated the evil forces sent by Kaṃsa, saying he destroyed them like a child destroying his toys (लीलया व्यनुदत् तांस्तान् बालः क्रीडनकानिव)[36]. He also describes Kṛṣṇa lifting Mount Govardhana with the ease with which one would lift an umbrella (गोत्रलीलातपत्रेण त्रातो भद्रानुगृह्णता)[37]. Moreover, he refers to Kṛṣṇa using epithets such as *Ajaḥ* (one who is birthless)[38] and *Anantavīryaḥ* (one with infinite strength)[39]. He

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35. Sl. 3/2/8 (Vol. I, p.124); *Akṣarabrahma* Guṇātītānanda Svāmī, hailed by many as *Bhagavān* Svāmināràyaṇa's first spiritual successor, explains this analogy as follows: Fish swimming in shallow waters see the moon shining through the water body in which they reside. Yet, unknowing the prowess, grandeur and beauty of the moon, they believe it to be just another fish, like themselves, though perhaps a bit shinier. Similarly, the Yādavas saw Kṛṣṇa as one amongst them, rather than as an incarnation of God, *Swāminī Vāto*, p.277).

36. Sl. 3/2/30 (Vol. I, p.126)

37. Sl. 3/2/33 (Vol. I, p.126)

38. Sl. 3/2/15-16 (Vol. I, p.124)

39. Sl. 3/2/16 (Vol. I, p.124)

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also commends Kṛṣṇa for being so compassionate as to liberate even those who came to slay him. He speaks of Pūtanā, for instance, saying:

अहो बकी यं स्तनकालकूटं जिघांसयापाययदप्यसाध्वी ।
लेभे गतिं धात्र्युचितां ततोऽन्यं कं वा दयालुं शरणं व्रजेम ॥

[Oh, even that impious woman, Pūtanā who suckled him at her breast, which was daubed with a most deadly poison, with intent to kill him - got from him the destiny appropriate to a foster-mother! Is there anyone so merciful, whom we should resort to protection, other than him?][40]

A similar scene occurs in the tenth book, wherein Kṛṣṇa sends Uddhava to console the *gopīs*, who are dismal due to separation from their beloved. Coming to Vraja, he first meets Nanda and Yaśodā, to whom he speaks of Kṛṣṇa as being the omniscient creator of the universe[41] and the liberator of countless souls[42], detached[43], yet having taken birth for the good of all.[44] Uddhava has similar exchanges with the *gopīs* over the next several months. Śuka describes that the days passed like moments, engrossed as Uddhava was in talks of Kṛṣṇa's greatness.[45] Thus, as Svāminārāyaṇa describes, Uddhava's words in both the 3rd and 10th books reveal his conviction to be characterized by an understanding of God's greatness, or *mahimā*.

Uddhava's understanding of Kṛṣṇa's greatness, however, was not just a matter of expression. It was an idea according to which he veritably lived and was able to draw upon when faced with testing circumstances. Indeed, he referred to Kṛṣṇa as *Āptasamastakāmaḥ*, suggesting that he was fulfilled and nothing left to achieve or attain.[46] He further says that Kṛṣṇa had come

40. Sl. 3/2/23 (Vol. I, p.125)
41. Sl. 10/43/31 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.138)
42. Sl. 10/43/32 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.138)
43. Sl. 10/43/37 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.138)
44. Sl. 10/43/33 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.138)
45. *Vacanāmṛta* Gaḍhaḍā II-17
46. Sl. 3/2/21 (Vol. I, p.125)

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to the world out of compassion, merely to reveal his divinity[47], and that he indulged in the sense pleasures, though without getting attached to them. The depth of Uddhava's perception, however, is revealed when he remains firm in his faith despite being tested. *Bhagavān* Svāminārāyaṇa lauds Uddhava in particular for remaining firm in two instances. The first of these regards the *rāsotsava*. Kṛṣṇa's meeting with the *gopīs* during the *rāsotsava* was certainly looked down upon by society at the time. The *gopīs'* relatives, in fact, tried incessantly to stop their loved ones from going to meet Kṛṣṇa, though they were unsuccessful. Parīkṣit, hearing the *Bhāgavata* from Śuka, thus expresses his doubts regarding Kṛṣṇa's actions. He entreats:

स कथं धर्मसेतूनां वक्ता कर्ताभिरक्षिता ।
प्रतीपमाचरद् ब्रह्मन् परदाराभिमर्शनम् ॥

[How did he, the promulgator, institutor and conservator of ethical standards, commit a transgression in the shape of embracing others' wives, O holy one?][48]

Similar doubts, however, did not arise in Uddhava's mind, despite hearing the same account[49]. The second instance Svāminārāyaṇa refers to is Kṛṣṇa's visit to the home of Kubjā in Mathurā. Uddhava was with Kṛṣṇa, yet not for a moment did he doubt his actions.[50] Despite being tested, Uddhava thus stood firm in his faith, attesting to the level of his understanding of Kṛṣṇa's greatness.

Understanding the Greatness of Kṛṣṇa's Devotees

Uddhava's belief in Kṛṣṇa's greatness was so eminent indeed that he believed not only Kṛṣṇa himself to be divine, but he also believed the same of Kṛṣṇa's devotees. Indeed, they had been fortunate enough to have had such close contact with the divine. Uddhava was thus so humbled before the

47. Sl. 3/2/12 (Vol. I, p.124)

48. Sl. 10/30/27 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.94)

49. Sl. 10/47/57-62 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.144-5); *Vacanāmṛta* Gaḍhaḍā II-17

50. Sl. 10/45/1-11 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.145-146)

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gopīs that, despite his understanding, intelligence, learnedness, closeness to Kṛṣṇa and splendorous physical characteristics[51], he asked to be reborn as a vine in Vṛndāvana so that he could salute the dust from the *gopīs'* feet. Svāmināràyaṇa repeatedly praises Uddhava for his prayer.[52] He quotes him as saying:

आसामहो चरणरेणुजुषामहं स्यां वृन्दावने किमपि गुल्मलतौषधीनाम् ।
या दुस्त्यजं स्वजनमार्यपथं च हित्वा भेजुर्मुकुन्दपदवीं श्रुतिभिर्विमृग्याम् ॥

[Oh, let me be anyone of the shrubs, creepers or herbs in Vṛndāvana, catching the dust of the feet of these (blessed ladies), who trod the path leading to Kṛṣṇa, (the path) which is (still) to be strenuously sought for (even) by the Upaniṣads - neglecting their own people as well as the path trodden by the virtuous, (both of) which are difficult to abandon.][53]

Uddhava's understanding of Kṛṣṇa's greatness was thus so deep that it led him to hold similar feelings towards Kṛṣṇa's devotees.

Understanding Immersed in *Bhakti*

Uddhava's *aṅga* of understanding, however, was not solitary. Instead, it was supported by *bhakti* towards both Kṛṣṇa and his devotees. Svāmināràyaṇa observes that a person with such *bhakti*, coined here as 'servitude', ...would like the *darśan* only of his *[i]ṣṭadeva;* he would like to hear talks only about [h]im; he would like [h]is *[i]ṣṭadeva's* nature; and he would also prefer to stay only with [h]im. Nevertheless, even though he has such love, for the sake of serving his *[i]ṣṭadeva* and earning [h]is pleasure, he wishes day and night,

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51. *Vacanāmṛta* Loyā 16.

52. *Vacanāmṛta* Sāraṅgapura 15, Kāriyāṇī 9, Loyā 16, , Loyā 17, II-17

53. Sl. 10/44, (Vol. IV, Part I, p.144); this verse appears in a footnote in the Bhāgavata's critical edition, as it has been omitted in some manuscripts. A verse number thus has not been assigned to it. However, Svāmināràyaṇa refers to it several times in the *vacanāmṛta*. These references appear both in printed versions of the *Vacanāmṛta* and in manuscripts, which date back to the mid-19th Century.

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'If my *[i]ṣṭadeva* were to command me, I would follow that command...''' So saying, Svāminārāyaṇa describes such a person as willing even to follow an ordinance that compels one to stay far away, despite being so attached to his or her *iṣṭadeva*.

The *Bhāgavata* reveals Uddhava to have imbibed such *bhakti* along side his *aṅga* of *mahimā*. Uddhava is thus described in the third and tenth books as being engrossed in talks of Kṛṣṇa. For instance, when Vidura asks about Kṛṣṇa in the third book, Uddhava is filled with joy and devotion. He is unable to say a word, his hair stands on end and his eyes well up.[54] Moreover, he spends the entire night engrossed in talks of Kṛṣṇa's greatness in front of Vidura[55] and, later on, Nanda and Yaśodā[56], perhaps, as Jarrow suggests, because it serves as a metonymic consolation in Kṛṣṇa's absence[57]. Similarly, Uddhava expresses distress in the eleventh book over the thought that Kṛṣṇa would soon leave the world. He beseeches Kṛṣṇa to take him along into the arms of death, unable to bear the immanent separation. He puts forth:

नाहं तवांह्रिकमलं क्षणार्धमपि केशव ।
त्यक्तुं समुत्सहे नाथ स्वधाम नय मामपि ॥

[I cannot bear to abandon your lotus feet even for half a second, O Keśava! Take me as well to your realm, O Lord!][58]

Being thus attached to Kṛṣṇa and revelling in talks about him, Uddhava fulfils one facet of Svāminārāyaṇa's definition of devotion, or servitude, towards God. However, despite such attachment, Uddhava parts with Kṛṣṇa for good upon realizing that it is Kṛṣṇa's wish for him to leave for Badarikāśrama. He bathes Kṛṣṇa's feet with warm tears as he bows to his beloved *iṣṭadeva* for the last time. His mind drenched with sorrow, he departs, according to Kṛṣṇa's

54. Sl. 3/2/1-6 (Vol. I, p.123)

55. Sl. 3/4/27 (Vol. I, p.131)

56. 10/43/43 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.139)

57. Jarrow, p.131

58. Sl. 11/6/43 (Vol. IV, Part II, p.23)

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wish. Uddhava thus fulfils the second facet of Svāmināràyaṇa's definition of *bhakti*, setting aside his wish of being with Kṛṣṇa and giving priority instead to Kṛṣṇa's desire that he proceed.

Uddhava's *aṅga* of *mahimā* thus did not stand alone, but was accompanied by the subordinate *aṅga* of *bhakti*.

The Fruit of Uddhava's Understanding

Uddhava's understanding of *Bhagavān* Kṛṣṇa's greatness, accompanied by *bhakti*, resulted in extraordinary spiritual results that are described in the *Bhāgavata*. According to Vyāsa's description, Svāmināràyaṇa summarizes this fruit, saying that Uddhava's *aṅga* resulted in detachment from the sense pleasures, spiritual fulfilment and ultimate liberation.

Let us first consider the first fruit of Uddhava's understanding, detachment from the sense pleasures. The *Bhāgavata* clearly shows, on the one hand, that Uddhava had understood Kṛṣṇa's greatness. The text is also clear, on the other hand, that he had attained self-realization and was unperturbed by the objects of the senses. Śuka, for instance, refers to Uddhava as *Advandvaparaḥ* or unmoved by opposites such as hunger and thirst or honour and insult.[59] Kṛṣṇa supports this idea in the third book, wherein he reflects that Uddhava is *Sampratyātma-vatām varaḥ* or the foremost among those who have attained self-realization[60], and is *Guneirnārditaḥ* or unperturbed by *māyā*.[61] Svāmināràyaṇa adds to this discussion by drawing a link between the two - Uddhava's understanding of Kṛṣṇa's greatness and his detachment from the objects of the senses. He says, "...Uddhavji had realised God's transcendental greatness and thus was not allured by the *pañcaviṣayas*." Svāmināràyaṇa thus declares Uddhava's detachment from the sense pleasures to be a direct result of his understanding of God's greatness.[62]

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59. Sl. 11/29/45 (Vol. IV, Part II, p.97)
60. Sl. 3/4/30 (Vol. I, p.131)
61. Sl. 3/4/31 (Vol. I, p.132)
62. Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā II-17

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Bhagavān Svāminārāyaṇa also discusses two further fruits of Uddhava's understanding - spiritual fulfilment[63] and ultimate liberation[64]. The *Bhāgavata* supports this observation. Uddhava's spiritual fulfilment is mentioned by Vidura, who observes Uddhava's burst of emotion on being asked of Kṛṣṇa's welfare. As Śuka describes, "पूर्णार्थो लक्षितस्तेन स्नेहप्रसरसम्प्लुतः (he saw him, drowned in love, to be fulfilled)"[65]. Uddhava himself expresses this same sentiment when parting from Kṛṣṇa in eleventh book. He says, "विद्रवितो मोहमयोऽन्धकारो य आश्रितो मे तव संनिधानात् (the thick darkness of ignorance that had been hugged by me has been dispersed by your teaching)"[66] and "प्रत्यर्पितो मे भवतानुकम्पिना भृत्याय विज्ञानमयप्रदीपः (The lamp of wisdom has been restored to me, your servant, by you, compassionate as you are)."[67]

Uddhava's liberation, on the other hand, is mentioned both by Kṛṣṇa and Śuka. Just before his final departure, Kṛṣṇa blesses Uddhava, saying, "स एष साधो चरमो भवानामासादितस्ते मदनुग्रहो यत् (this is your last birth, because you have attained my grace)."[68] After Uddhava departs, he undertakes austerities according to Kṛṣṇa's wish. Śuka recounts his success, saying that he attained God's abode as a result.[69]

Svāminārāyaṇa's observances from the *Bhāgavata* thus reveal Uddhava's conviction in God to be informed by an understanding of Kṛṣṇa's transcendental greatness. This understanding was supported by a subordinate *aṅga*, that of *bhakti*. As a result, Svāminārāyaṇa comments, Uddhava was graced with qualities such as detachment from the sense pleasures, spiritual fulfilment and ultimate liberation.

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63. Gaḍhaḍā II-62
64. Loyā 11; Gaḍhaḍā II-18
65. Sl. 3/2/5 (Vol. I, p.123)
66. Sl. 11/29/37 (Vol. IV, Part II, p.96)
67. Sl. 11/29/38 (Vol. IV, Part II, p.96)
68. Sl. 3/4/12 (Vol. I, p.129)
69. Sl. 11/29/47 (Vol. IV, Part II, p.97)

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The *Gopīs* from Svāmināràyaṇa's Perspective

The *gopīs* of Vraja are discussed primarily in the *Bhāgavata's* tenth book, wherein they are shown starting from the fifth canto as witness to Kṛṣṇa's childhood *līlā*.[70] They are introduced as key characters in the text, however, from the 21st canto, the *Veṇugītam,* wherein they are drawn by the sound of Kṛṣṇa's flute.[71] Thereafter, the 22nd canto describes their austerities, the *vastraharaṇa,* and Kṛṣṇa's subsequent promise to grant them bliss.[72] Hence begins the celebrated *rāsapañcādhyāyī,* from cantos 26 to 30, wherein Kṛṣṇa fulfils his promise.[73] The *gopīs'* reminiscence of Kṛṣṇa is similarly described in canto 35[74], and their pain at Kṛṣṇa's departure for Mathurā is related in canto 36[75]. Furthermore, their exchanges with Uddhava appear in cantos 43 and 44[76] and their reunion with Kṛṣṇa in canto 79[77].

The *Gopīs* - Drenched in Loving Devotion

Drawing upon the *gopīs'* words as described by Vyāsa, Svāmināràyaṇa shows the *gopīs* to have been intelligent, adept speakers and diplomats, and fully equipped in spiritual knowledge. By far, however, he describes their forte to be their faith, which was characterized by their inclination of *premalakṣaṇā bhakti,* or loving devotion. He categorizes the *gopīs* according to the grade of their devotion and praises the greatest amongst them as prototypes of *premalakṣaṇā bhakti* numerous times in his discourses.[78] Namely, he argues,

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70. Vol. IV, Part I, p.20-22
71. Vol. IV, Part I, p.62-64
72. Vol. IV, Part I, p.64-67
73. Vol. IV, Part I, p.81-95
74. Vol. IV, Part I, p.98-100
75. Vol. IV, Part I, p.111-114
76. Vol. IV, Part I, p.136-145
77. Vol. IV, Part I, p.268-272
78. *Vacanāmṛta* Gaḍhaḍā I-56, II-19, Sāraṅgapura 5, Loyā 14, II-62, III-2

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their devotion was characterized not just by a yearning to be with Kṛṣṇa either in person or in spirit, but also by a deep commitment to following his wishes, unwavering conviction in his divinity and an understanding of his greatness.

The *Bhāgavata* robustly describes the *gopīs* as incessantly longing for Kṛṣṇa's presence and losing themselves in thoughts of him.[79] Even moments without Kṛṣṇa's presence were difficult for them to tolerate. As Śuka describes, "क्षणं युगशतमिव यासां येन विनाऽभवत् (Without him, even a moment was like one hundred *yugas* for them)."[80] Hearing Kṛṣṇa's flute, the *gopīs* thus skirted off from their homes and came bounding forth, leaving their cattle amidst milking, their food amidst cooking and their children amidst feeding.[81] Their relatives unsuccessfully tried to stop them. The 16th-century commentator Sanātana Goswāmī reflects on this scene using an analogy, wherein he writes, "प्रवाहवेगनीयमाना नौर्यथा तटस्थानां तिष्ठ तिष्ठेत्याद्युक्त्या नावारूढानां नौधारणेनापि न तिष्ठादिति" [A boat being taken along by the force of current does not stop either at shouts of, "Stop! Stop!" or even by the paddles of those on the boat.][82] The *gopīs* reached Kṛṣṇa precisely in this way - for, those who were unable to go physically discarded their bodies and went to Kṛṣṇa in spirit.[83] Upon meeting Kṛṣṇa, the *gopīs* attained the transcendental bliss of the *rāsotsava*, an event many Vaiṣṇava traditions herald as the highest and most sacred revelation of boundless love.[84] Amidst this *utsava*, the *gopīs* revelled in Kṛṣṇa's presence. Even therein, they were unable to bear separation when Kṛṣṇa disappeared from their midst. So engrossed they were in him that they began acting out

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79. Sl. 10/18/8-9 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.62), 10/35/26 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.100), etc. The latter verse is included in the critical edition's footnote, as some manuscripts have omitted it.

80. Sl. 10/16/16 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.57)

81. Sl. 10/26/6 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.82)

82. Goswāmī, p.60.

83. Sl. 10/29/8-11 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.82); *Vacanāmṛta* Vaḍatāla 3

84. Schweig, p.118

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his *līlā*, saying *Asāvaham* or "It is I who am Kṛṣṇa"[85]. Herein, they even went as far as to curse Brahma for having created the eyelids, which proved as obstacles to seeing their beloved.[86] Soon thereafter, Kṛṣṇa reappeared, and the *gopīs'* eyes danced at the sight of him. It was as if life had gushed forth into a dead body.[87] They returned home the next morning reluctantly after the *rāsa* had ended.[88]

Such a yearning disposition can be seen in all of the *gopīs*. Svāmināràyaṇa, however, goes one step further to classify the *gopīs'* love according to the level of their *bhakti*, which he infers from their words and actions as presented by Vyāsa. He puts the *gopīs* into three categories - the *mugdhā* (the obstinate), the *madhyā* (the mediocre) and the *prauḍhā* (the mature). The *mugdhā*, he says, became upset with Kṛṣṇa and would speak harshly to him for not giving returns for their sacrifice. The *madhyā* would do that which pleased Kṛṣṇa, but would also cleverly do that which pleased themselves in the process, i.e. they would not do only that which pleased Kṛṣṇa. The *prauḍhā*, on the other hand, would never do anything by thought, word or deed that would displease God. Furthermore, they would renounce egotism, jealousy and other vices and would remain alert in God's service.[89] It is these *gopīs*, the *prauḍhā*, that Svāmināràyaṇa reveals as models of *premalakṣaṇā bhakti*[90], primarily because their devotion was characterized by not just yearning, but also a deep commitment to act according to God's wishes and conviction in his divinity.

The first characteristic that *Bhagavān* Svāmināràyaṇa discusses regarding the *bhakti* of the eminent *gopīs* is their commitment to act according to Kṛṣṇa's wishes. The *Bhāgavata* describes *bhakti* to be inherently linked to obedience,

85. Sl. 10/27/3 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.86)

86. Sl. 10/28/14 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.90)

87. Sl. 10/29/3 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.90)

88. Sl. 10/30/38 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.95)

89. *Vacanāmṛta* Sāraṅgapura 15

90. Loya 14, Gaḍhaḍā II-19, II-62, III-2

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using the phrase *Bhaktyānuvṛtyā* or devotion in the form of following the wish of the object of devotion[91]. Svāminārāyaṇa draws upon this theme, saying that only one who is obedient truly loves. He illustrates this principle using the *gopīs'* reaction to Kṛṣṇa's departure for Mathurā. He says:

"...when Shri Kṛṣṇa *Bhagavān* prepared to leave for Mathurā, all of [the *gopīs*] together decided, 'We will infringe the norms of family traditions and society, and we will keep God here by force.' However, at the time of Śrī Kṛṣṇa *Bhagwān's* departure, they looked into his eyes and realized that it was not his wish to stay. As a result, all of them remained far away, because in their hearts, they feared, 'If we do not act according to God's liking, God's affection for us will subside.' Thinking in this way, none of them were able to utter a word.

"Then, after God went to Mathurā, even though Shri Kṛṣṇa was only three *gāus* away, the *gopīs* never disobeyed his wishes by going for his *darśana*. They realised, 'If we do go to Mathurā contrary to God's wish, then the affection that God has for us will diminish. So, since the *gopīs* had true affection for God, they did not go for God's *darśana* without his command. Only when God sent for them in Kurukṣetra did they have the *darśana* of God[92], but in no way did they disobey God's command. Therefore, a person who has affection for God would never disobey God's command. He would only act according to God's wishes. That is the characteristic of affection."[93]

Accordingly, the *bhakti* of the *prauḍhā gopīs* was such that it allowed them to follow Kṛṣṇa's wishes.

A second characteristic of the *gopīs'* inclination of *premalakṣaṇā bhakti* that Svāminārāyaṇa points to is their unwavering conviction in Kṛṣṇa's divinity. Just as Uddhava, the *gopīs* never doubted Kṛṣṇa's actions before or after the *rāsotsava*. Svāminārāyaṇa lauds this understanding as a rare achievement, saying, "...*bhakti* in which one perceives all of the actions and incidents

91. Sl. 5/5/10 (Vol. II, p.143)

92. 10/82 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.282-287)

93. *Vacanāmṛta* Kāriyāṇī 11

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of God as being divine, as the *gopīs* did, and never perceives a flaw by understanding them to be human-like, is very rare. In fact, it is not achieved by merely doing good deeds for one or two lives. Rather, only when the pure *saṃskāras* of many lives accumulate, does *bhakti* like that of the *gopīs* develop. In fact, such *bhakti* is itself the highest state of enlightenment. It is this type of *bhakti* that is greater than *jñāna* and *vairāgya*. If a person has such *bhakti* in his heart, what would be lacking in his love for God? Nothing would be lacking." The *gopīs' bhakti* was thus of the highest type, as it was characterized not only by physical yearning but also by obedience and unwavering conviction in Kṛṣṇa's divinity.

Bhakti Illuminated by Understanding

The *prauḍhā gopīs' bhakti*, however, did not stand alone. It was supported by a deep understanding of Kṛṣṇa's greatness. Svāminārāyaṇa mentions this fact in the *Vacanāmṛta*, commenting that the *gopīs* had "thoroughly realised the greatness of God" and that they "knew God precisely as he should be known."He further comments, "The *gopīs* were not so naive. They were so wise that their wisdom could transcend the understanding of those who do possess knowledge of the *ātmā* and *vairāgya*... thus their love cannot be said to be without understanding. Also, they had thoroughly realized the greatness of God."[94]

The *Bhāgavata* takes note of the *gopīs'* understanding in similar fashion. Amidst the celebrated *Gopīkāgītam*, for instance, the *gopīs* recall Kṛṣṇa's superhuman feats and then sing:

न खलु गोपिकानन्दनो भवानखिलदेहिनामन्तरात्मदृक् ।
विखनसार्थितो विश्वगुप्तये सख उदेयिवान् सात्वतां कुले ॥

[Surely you are no son of a cowherd woman, being the witness of the internal sense (i.e. the mind) of all embodied souls. Solicited by Brahmā, you appeared, O Friend, in the race of the Yadus for the protection of the universe.][95]

94. *Vacanāmṛta* Sāraṅgapura 15

95. Sl. 10/31/4 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.89)

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Similar indications appear elsewhere in the *Bhāgavata* as well[96], revealing that the *gopīs' bhakti* was indeed augmented by an understanding of Kṛṣṇa's greatness.

Characterized as such, the *gopīs' bhakti* was so great that both Uddhava and Kṛṣṇa himself were humbled before it. Uddhava praises the *gopīs* for justifying their existence by offering such *bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa[97], *bhakti* of the type that is rare even in great sages.[98] Uddhava gives a prayer of thanks to Kṛṣṇa for sending him to impart knowledge to the *gopīs;* for, instead of teaching the *gopīs,* he had learned from them.[99] As mentioned earlier, he even goes as far as to ask to be reborn as a shrub, creeper or herb in Vṛndāvana so he can salute the dust from the *gopīs'* feet.[100]

Kṛṣṇa similarly states his humility before the gopīs when he says:

न पारयेऽहं निरवद्यसंयुजां स्वसाधुकृत्यं विबुधायुषापि वः ।
या माभजन् दुर्जरगेहशृङ्खलाः संवृश्च्य तद् वः प्रतियातु साधुना ॥

[I cannot even through the life of a heavenly being repay my obligation to you, whose connection with me is free from blemish and who have fixed your mind on me completely cutting asunder the fetters that bound you to your home and which cannot be easily broken. Let your services to me be repaid by your own goodness.][101]

Jarrow notes that, on the one hand, the *Bhāgavata's* theology builds on *īśvara's* "complete and unequivocal control" over the universe. Here, however,

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96. Sl. 10/31/12 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.89), 10/47/15-17 (Vol .IV, Part I, p.141), etc.
97. Sl. 10/47/57 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.145)
98. Sl. 10/47/25 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.142)
99. Sl. 10/47/27 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.142)
100. Sl. 10/47 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.144); Vacanāmṛta Sāraṅagapura 15, Kāriyāṇī 9, Loyā 16, Loyā 17, II-17
101. Sl. 10/32/22 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.92)

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we see that this control is relinquished in the face of the *gopīs' premalakṣaṇā bhakti*[102] to the point that Redington describes Kṛṣṇa as being put under the loving control of the *gopīs*.[103] Such willing dependence is described in the *Śrīmad Bhagavad Gītā's Svāmināràyaṇa Bhāṣya as* करुणापारावारिणः भक्तपराधीनता, or the submission of God, an ocean of compassion, towards the devotee.[104]

The Fruit of the *Gopīs'* Loving Devotion

The *gopīs'* loving devotion represented the quintessence of devotional fervour. Coupled with an understanding of Kṛṣṇa's greatness, it resulted in detachment, spiritual fulfilment and ultimate liberation.

Let us first consider the *gopīs'* detachment from the senses. Kṛṣṇa describes the senses to Arjuna in the *Gīta* as being *Pramāthīni* or torturing, even to one who is *Vipaścit* or wise. He further says that the senses grasp such a person's intellect[105] and draw him or her towards indulgence, eventually resulting in spiritual downfall.[106] The *gopīs' bhakti,* however, was so great that it allowed them to rise above such powerful human instincts so as to focus only on Kṛṣṇa. Svāmināràyaṇa, in fact, praises their *bhakti* by saying, "If one has such extraordinary *bhakti*, then the other three virtues of *jñāna, vairāgya,* etc., are all incorporated."[107] He further says that countless redemptive virtues such as *ātma* realization and *vairāgya* were fully developed in the *gopīs*.[108] Accordingly, he paraphrases them as saying to Kṛṣṇa, "Since the day we touched your feet, all of the pleasures of the world, besides you, have seemed like poison to us."[109] The *gopīs'* love for Kṛṣṇa thus allowed

102. Jarrow, p. 97

103. Redington, p.81

104. Bhadreśadāsa, p. 11

105. Sl. 2/60

106. *Ibid.*, Sl. 2/62-63

107. *Vacanāmṛta,* Vaḍatāla 3

108. *Vacanāmṛta,* Sāraṅgapura 15

109. *Vacanāmṛta,* Sāraṅgapura 5, II-62; words similar to those which Svāmināràyaṇa refers to appear in Sl. 10/29/33 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.84)

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them to become detached from the sense pleasures and to devote themselves to Kṛṣṇa alone.

Svāminārāyaṇa further observes that the *gopīs* attained spiritual fulfilment and ultimate liberation due to their *bhakti.* He says, "...a person who has profound, loving *bhakti* for God, like the *gopīs*, has completed all spiritual endeavours."[110] He further praises the *gopīs,* saying that they had become *guṇātīta*[111] and *nirguṇa*[112]. These words are supported in the *Bhāgavata,* wherein Uddhava proclaims, "अहो यूयं स्म पूर्णार्था भवत्यो लोकपूजिताः" (Oh, you have your objects accomplished indeed and are the adored of all the worlds.)"[113]

Svāminārāyaṇa mentions the *gopīs'* liberation in the *Vacanāmṛta as* well. He says that they "...were able to overcome God's *māyā* and attain the *nirguṇa Akshardham* of God..."[114] In the *Bhāgavata,* Kṛṣṇa similarly states regarding them, "मत्कामा.... अबला ब्रह्म मां परमं प्रापुः (Full of compassion for me, [those] women attained me, the supreme Brahma)"[115] The *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata-Māhātmya* further states, "हरिर्हि साध्यते भक्त्या प्रमाणं तत्र गोपिकाः (Truly, God is attainable by devotion. Proof of this is the *gopīs*)",[116] indicated that the *gopīs' bhakti* indeed resulted in their ultimate liberation.

The *gopīs'* faith in Kṛṣṇa was thus characterized by an inclination towards *bhakti.* Their *bhakti,* moreover, was not just expressed through yearning, but also through dedication to following Kṛṣṇa's wishes and by strong belief in Kṛṣṇa's divinity. Supported by a deep understanding of Kṛṣṇa's greatness, it led to detachment from the sense pleasures, spiritual fulfilment and ultimate liberation.

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110. *Vacanāmṛta,* Gaḍhaḍā, I-56

111. *Vacanāmṛta,* Gaḍhaḍā, I-42

112. *Ibid.,* Vaḍatāla 18

113. Sl. 10/47/23 (Vol. IV, Part I, p.142)

114. *Vacanāmṛta* Gaḍhaḍā, I-42

115. Sl. 11/12/13 (Vol. IV, Part II, p.41)

116. Sl. 2/18

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Conclusion - Divergent *Aṅgas* attaining Similar Ends

Through the *Vacanāmṛta,* Svāmināràyaṇa thus expands on the *Bhāgavata's* central theme of conviction in God's form by indicating that such conviction takes root in devotees according to their respective *aṅgas.* He further states that each *aṅga* is accompanied by other, supportive inclinations and which enjoy equal status with respect to the each other. Indeed, Uddhava's conviction was characterized by an understanding of Kṛṣṇa's greatness and was, nonetheless, attended by *bhakti.* The *gopīs'* faith, in contrast, was characterized by loving devotion, or *premalakṣaṇā bhakti,* and was attended by an understanding of Kṛṣṇa's greatness. Both Uddhava and the *gopīs* thus possessed divergent *aṅgas.* However, they both experienced the same results - detachment from the sense, spiritual fulfilment and ultimate liberation.

What remains to be considered in addition to this concept of conviction, however, is a theme that Svāmināràyaṇa often harps upon in the *Vacanāmṛta.* That is, the necessity of directing one's faith towards the manifest form of God. Uddhava and the *gopīs* had before them the very embodiment of *Paramātman* himself, with whom they could interact and whom they could thus love and contemplate upon, perfecting their conviction. Such *pratyakṣa* interaction thus facilitated their respective *aṅgas* and acted as an expedient to success. Indeed, this is a compelling concept that deserves much consideration in the years to come.

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IMPRESSIONS ABOUT MAHARASHTRA AND THE MARATHAS THROUGH SOME BENGALI WRITINGS FROM EIGHTEENTH TO EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Varsha Shirgaonkar

A study of literature in Bengali language from the eighteenth to early twentieth century shows that there are some prominent writings in Bengali regarding Maharashtra and the Marathas. The language and the presentation in the literary works reveal deep impression of Maharashtra on the authors. The works referred to here are those that have the background of the political scenario in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Bengal and Maharashtra. As compared to the situation in Bengal, Maharashtra witnessed a new power in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on account of the rise and expansion of the Marathas. They became subsequently the key persons in the Mughal court. The vigour and the military traditions of the Marathas and of Maharashtra in general evoked a great curiosity among the writers of Bengal who found Bengal in general being slack and hence, totally servile to the British. These writers felt that this attitude of servility to the British rule was because the medieval past of Bengal did not have any striking heroes who were defiant or trend-setters in any military traditions. Though the impact is seen on many nationalists of Bengal, the present article will focus on three long poems of Rabindranath Tagore (7th May 1861-7th August 1941), dealing with the history of Marathas, some impressions of the gallantry of Maharashtra that Saraladevi Choudhurani (9th Spt. 1872- 18th August 1945) has left through her autobiography, and a rare text named *Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa* by a Bengali poet Gangārām. These authors and their literary works in Bengali language pertaining to Maharashtra are selected here because there is a common thread in them. One can observe that these works either directly

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* Department of History, S.N.D.T. Women's University, Mumbai 20

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or indirectly are imbued with the respect for self-identity that Maharashtra had created in medieval times, and also in nineteenth century, on account of the heroic traditions set by the Marathas. Albeit, some of these works show that at times the Marathas did transgress the lines of values and morals and resorted to unscrupulous acts. Generally there is a tone of anguish over the lack of physical strength of and the sluggishness in the Bengali men from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century especially in the writings of Saraladevi Choudhurani.

Rabindranath Tagore, whose outstanding contribution in the field of literature earned him the honour as a Nobel Laureate, was quite candid about his curiosity of the Western India. In the second part of *Rabindra Racanāvalī,* he says that he had developed a fascination for Western India right from childhood. This was because since many centuries Western India had experienced foreign rule and had revolted against the domination of foreign masters. The richness of the culture of Western India, according to him, was the result of the continuous zeal of the people of Maharashtra to establish their identity. Tagore further says that he always wished to occupy some place for some time in Western India to observe their contribution to the Indian culture and history.[1] Tagore's association with Maharashtra began in 1889 when he took his family to Sholapur where his brother was then the Judge. Apparently, he always had a fascination for Western India on account of its rich historical heritage.[2] His nationalist spirit made him support the stand that Bal Gangadhar Tilak had taken in the freedom movement. After knowing about the passing of the Sedition Bill in 1898 and the subsequent arrest of Tilak he read his famous paper '*Kaṇṭharodha*' (The Throttled) at a public meeting in Calcutta. Not only did he protest against the repressive policy of the Government but he also actively participated in raising funds for the defence of Tilak.[3]

1. Tagore Rabindranath, *Mānasi*, Vishwabharati Granthanvibhag, Calcutta, 1974 (First Published 1891), p. 6
2. Kriplani Krishna, *Rabindranath Tagore A Biography*, Oxford University Press, London, Bombay, 1962, pp. 122 & 124
3. *Ibid*, pp. 176-77

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Tagore's Bengali work *Kathā O Kāhinī* has detailed poems on the Rajput kings and on Shivaji. While *Kathā* or Ballads was published in 1900, the *Kāhinī* (legend) portion was added later. *Kathā and Kāhinī* together were published as *Kathā O Kāhinī* for the first time in 1910. There are three long poems related to the Marathas in this work. They are *Pratinidhi, Vichārak* and *Panarakṣha.*

In the beginning of *Pratinidhi,* Tagore orients his readers that the maroon coloured flag of Shivaji was known as '*Bhagvā Jheṅḍā*'. His poetry is replete with his overwhelming emotions for their heroic deeds.[4] He has given a small note in the beginning of '*Pratinidhi*' and *Vicārak* about the work of Harry Acworth. Tagore writes that he has composed the long poem *Pratinidhi* on the basis of the descriptions occurring in various '*gāthas*' in Marathi language collected and translated by Acworth '*Saheb*'. He orients the Bengali readers that the crimson banner (*geruā patākā*) of Shivaji was known as '*Bhagvā Jheṅḍā'*. The theme of this poem is based on the emotional bond between Shivaji and his *guru* Ramdas. The subject matter of the poem is as follows: Sitting at the anterior of the fort of Satara one day, Shivaji saw that his *guru* Ramdas was returning without food after begging alms from door to door. He was deeply touched at this, thinking that his ambition was worthless if he could not make provisions for his *guru.* Deciding to fill the alms-bag ('*jholī*') of Ramdas he asked for a pen, wrote a note, called Balaji, (his attendant) and told him, ''When the *guru* comes back to the fort with alms, give this to him''. In this note Shivaji had offered his entire kingdom to Ramdas and requested him not to ask for alms. When Ramdas came he read the note. Next day he went to Shivaji and said, ''If you give away your kingdom to me what work will you do? So join me in asking for alms''. Thus Ramdas and Shivaji went to the villagers nearby. They offered alms to the king but were awe-struck while putting the alms in the *jholī.* The experience made Shivaji lose his pride as a king. Ramdas was touched by this gesture and expressed so to Shivaji in the afternoon when they came back to the palace.

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4. Thakur Rabindranath, *Kathā O Kāhinī,* Vishwabharati Granthanvibhag, Calcutta, 1974 (1st published 1910), pp. 16-20

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The theme concludes with a very interesting gesture of Ramdas. He asked Shivaji to take back his kingdom and while giving blessings to the kingdom he gave his saffron cloth to Shivaji and requested him to make a banner out of it. Thus, the poet says, the *geruā patākā* or crimson banner was created. In Maharashtra the flag of the Marathas was well-known as '*Bhagvā Jheṅḍā*'. Tagore completed this poem on the first day of the Hindu month of Kartik of the Bengali year 1304 that corresponds with some date in November 1898.[5] The ethos created by this poem suggests that Tagore wished to emphasise that there was a spiritual basis to the *Hind Swarajya*. The title of the poem would suggest that Rabindranath projected Shivaji as well as Ramdas as the real representatives (*Pratinidhi*) of the people.

In *Vicārak*, Rabindranath Tagore specifically mentions the work of Acworth named *Ballads of the Marathas*.[6] The ballads were generally called *powāḍā*s. They were passed on from generation to generation through oral tradition. They had been collected, compiled and published since the latter half of nineteenth century. The oldest compilation is the one published by Mr. Shankar Tukaram Shaligram in 1879. Harry Arbuthnot Acworth, who was in Indian Civil Service and the Municipal Commissioner and also the Vice President of Bombay Anthropological Society, has done a great service towards the compilation of *powāḍā*s. While working as a Political Agent in Konkan and in the districts of the Deccan and Mavals, he had correspondence with Chiefs, *Sardar*s, *Jagirdar*s and scholars in connection with the collection of the ballads. Sardar Balwantrao Vinayak Shastri, the grandson of Gangadhar Shastri, who was assassinated at Pandharpur and whose murder triggered off the Third Anglo- Maratha War (1814- 1818), gave some ballads to Harry Acworth. Later when Harry Acworth was transferred to Satara as the Political Agent, he could collect more than sixty unpublished ballads with the help of Mr. Shaligram in 1887, many of which were published in a book in 1890 with the title *Itihasprasiddha Puruṣānce vā Striyānce Powāḍe*. The English title was *Powāḍās or Historical Ballads of The Marathas*. In its introduction he

5. *Ibid*, p. 20

6. *Ibid*, p. 121

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has narrated the difficulties in procuring the ballads which were mainly with the *Gondhalis*, who being illiterate had them only in the oral form.[7] Acworth says that it is probable that the *gondhalis* carried out the practice of ballad-singing generations after generations.[8] As stated above in his introductory note of *Vicārak, Tagore* refers to this work. This poem of Tagore is based on the sad episode of Narayanrao's murder. Since he mentions the ballads of Marathas it is possible that he was aware of the *powāḍā* composed on this incident. In the literary work published by Harry Acworth and S. T. Shaligram there is one *powāḍā* of a *shahir* Lahari Mukunda.[9] The publishers say that they got four copies of this *powāḍā*- one published in *Vividh Gyāna Vistar*, the second, procured from a *gondhali*, the third, obtained in an old collection and the fourth, sent by R. R. Pathak from Kolhapur. The *powāḍā* gives the introductory account of the theme as follows: Towards the end of his life, Madhavrao put Narayanrao under the care of Raghunathrao. As per the wish of Madhavrao Peshwa after his death Narayanrao was placed on the throne. In 1773 in consultation with Anandibai, Raghunathrao hatched a plot of killing Narayanrao with the help of *gardi* Sumersingh. When Sumersingh came with his assistants to the *wāḍā* of Narayanrao, the latter was fast asleep after his meals. There was a lot of noise on account of the arrival of Sumersingh. But no one gave any inkling to the sleeping Narayanrao. After waking up the scared Narayanrao started running helter -skelter to escape his death. But Sumersingh pursued and killed him. The introduction of the *powāḍā* also has a line as a footnote that the letter sent by Raghunathrao contained the words '*dharave*' but it is said that the letter '*dha*' was changed to 'ma' by Anandibai. The starting lines of the *powāḍā* are: "*Dakkhancā divā mālavalā hirā harapalā, kāy gupīt ghālā kelā nārāyaṇrāvālā.*" Translation of it would be:

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7. Acworth Harry Arbuthnot and Shaligram Shankar Tukaram, *Powāḍās or Historical Ballads of the Marathas*, Arya Bhushan Press, Poona, 2nd edition, 1911, Intro to 1st edition, p. X (1st edition 1890)

8. Acworth Harry A., *Ballads of the Marathas*, Longman Green and Company, London, 1894, introduction, p. 32

9. *Ibid*, pp. 144-156

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The light of Deccan is put off, the diamond is gone, secret attack was done on Narayanrao." The *shahir* mentions that Nana Phadnis at that time was at Menavali. The *powāḍā* describes that later Nana Phadnis took Gangabai, the young widow of Narayanrao, under his care. The *shahir* portrays the condition of utter misery among the citizens, especially women, who were aggrieved to see the condition of Gangabai who was 5 months' pregnant.

Now, let us understand as to what is the theme of *Vicārak*. It in the beginning shows the display of the bravery of Raghunathrao in marching against Haidar Ali, the master of Mysore. At least half of this long poem is filled with the sentiment of bravery. He describes in a picturesque way as to how under the leadership of Raghunathrao Maratha soldiers gathered from the mountainous passes and gained a sudden victory. It was, as if, a day of deluge. After preparing the readers with the feeling of some mishap Rabindranath's lines go on thus, "There stood in front of Raghunatharao a Brahmin- Nyayadhish Ramshastri. His both hands folded he said, "Raghunathrao, leave this town and go somewhere else. You'll attain salvation from your sin." Suddenly, the victory sound silenced, the war cry became calm." The baffled Raghunathrao asked the Shastri as to why he came with this verdict which paved the way to God Yama even when Raghunathrao had done a good job of annihilating the Muslim power.[10] Shastri thereupon told Raghunathrao that he lost freedom the day he murdered his brother's son and since then he was a prisoner in the eyes of law. Raghunathrao getting ruffled laughed loudly and said, "A king does not accept the bondage of anyone and his path is not obstructed by any comment of the law." Ramshastri getting agitated asked Raghunathrao sarcastically to continue the war. Further he said that otherwise he would leave his duty of imparting law and justice and retire to his village. The unfazed Raghunathrao ordered the victory sound while the poor and helpless Brahmin returned to his hut.[11]

One can understand the ethos of the scene. The last dialogue where

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10. Thakur Rabindranath, *Kathā O Kāhinī*, p. 123
11. *Ibid*, p. 124

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Ramshastri asks pathetically Raghunathrao to continue the war has a double meaning. The history of Marathas shows that Raghunathrao continued to be undaunted under any circumstance. His son Bajirao II subsequently continued to have conflicting relations with Nana Phadnis and with the spirit of Maratha Empire in general.

The third poem in *Kathā O Kāhinī* of Rabindranath Tagore related to the Marathas is entitled *Panarakṣha.*[12] The plot is on the Maratha-Ajmer relations. It starts with the cry of the people of Marwad that "the Maratha enemies are coming and get ready for action". The chief of the fort of Ajmer was Doomraj. In the afternoon around 2 o'clock Doomraj and the soldiers located at the fort of Ajmer saw the dust-clad sky on account of the galloping horses of the Marathas. The Marathas were led by Shinde who had also recruited Muslim soldiers in the military. Doomraj touched by this decided to finish the rivalry between the two Hindu groups. Taking a deep breath he said, "Without a battle I'll hand over the fort of Ajmer to the Marathas." He further uttered, "Today resistance has ended on account of the Divine order towards the duty of a brave man." Keeping in mind the promise that he had given to his master of protecting the fort till his death, Doomraj contemplated something. He asked the Rajput soldiers to be motionless. In the silence Doomraj was ready to face the Maratha battalion that came to the gate of the fort in the saffron evening (This has a double meaning. Rabindranath describes the evening also as if clad with saffron cloth or '*Bhagvā Jheṅḍā'*.). Doomraj was lying dead at the gate while the Marathas were clamouring with for opening the gates of the fort. The poem ends with the words that Doomraj's soul left his body for fulfilling the promise that he gave to his master and also to obey the instruction from the Divine. This poem though has a reference to the Marathas it is based more on the principles of Rajput chivalry. The poem just mentions 'Shinde'. It appears, considering the Marwad-Maratha relations, the reference is most probably to Jayappa Shinde. The period stated in the poem might be of pre-Panipat years because these were the years of subtle competition between

12. *Ibid*, pp. 125-127

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the Rajputs and Marathas to wield the power in the Delhi Durbar of the Mughals.[13]

A peep into the literary history of the contemporary Bengal shows that before Rabindranath Tagore came on the scene of poetry, Madhusudan Dutt (1824-1873) had been an impact-creating poet who chose themes from the epics and *Purāṇās* creating an impact. To make his poems rhythmic he used the presentation of emotions and the new metres. Thus he set a new path in the composition of poetry that gripped the young minds. After converting to Christianity, he chose the Greco-Roman and Christian myths. In a way it was a new turn in the tradition of Bengali poetry. On account of this new style Madhusudan achieved fame.[14] Generally it is believed that he instilled heroism in poetry and hence was called 'the father of a new school of poetry.' Rabindranath, however, was not impressed by the epic and heroism reflected in the writings of Madhusudan Datta.[15] In his *Reminiscences Tagore* admits that in his young age, his criticism of *Meghanādabadha Kāvya* was very intense. He says that he had written with vehemence about it in *Bharati*. To quote him, "A short time before, in all the insolence of my youthful vanity, I had written a criticism of *Meghanādabadha*. As acidity is characteristic of the unripe mango, so is abuse of the immature critic. When the other powers are lacking, the power of pricking seems to be at its sharpest. I had thus sought immortality by leaving my scratches on that immortal epic. This impudent

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13. This expedition of the Marathas discussed by Rabindranath also appears to be the same as the one carried out by Raghunathrao from September 1753 to August 1755. The atrocities imposed by Raghunathrao on the Rajputs were a matter of great misery for the Rajput states. Govind Sakharam Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, Volume II The Expansion of the Maratha Power 1707-1772, First Impression, 1948, pp. 378-380

14. Shastri Shivnath, *Ramtanu Lahiri O Tatkalin Bangasamaj*, Vishwavani Prakashani, Calcutta, 1983 (First edition 1903), p. 174

15. Ray Niharranjan, *An Artist in Life A Commentary on the Life and Works of Rabindranath Tagore*, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1967, p. 30

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criticism was my first contribution to the *Bharati.*''[16] This remark of Tagore clearly shows an apologetic tone about his criticism of Madhusudan Datta but all-the-same it also reflects that he approved the literary style of Madhusudan Datta. He chose themes more from historical episodes. In a way he was like Bankimchandra Chatterji. Rabindranath Tagore's *Kathā* was published for the first time in 1900 when the national movement was ripening. He brought out the fragments from the historical past of Rajputana, Punjab and Maharashtra. The themes of his long poems upon the deeds of Rajputs, Sikhs and the Marathas, seem to have been deliberately chosen so as to link them to the backdrop of the national movement. However, rather than being ''aggressive, narrow, sectarian and chauvinistic in language he preferred to highlight the nobler and the more undying qualities of the human spirit that shone bright in suffering and death, that is, the basic humanity in man.''[17] It is important to know that *Powāḍās or Historical Ballads of The Marathas,* the above-mentioned work of Harry Acworth was published in 1894 barely six years before his *Kathā* was published. It shows as to how Rabindranath was aware of the publications in Maharashtra and how the heroic deeds and the history of Maharashtra had created an impact on his mind. The living tradition of the *powāḍās* moreover seems to have had a long-standing impact. It also is an indicator of the fact that the tradition of *powāḍā*-singing prevailed in the late 1890s and early 20th centuries and that the Shahirs must have been going to different parts of India on invitation to perform. The very fact that a poet like Tagore writes so highly about the *powāḍās* shows that the ballads of the Marathas were popular and that the Shahirs during British period also composed and sang the *powāḍās* that were based on the history of Marathas.

Saraladevi Ghoshal-Dutt Choudhari, popularly known as Saraladevi Choudhurani was connected to the Tagore family as her mother Swarnakumari Devi was the sister of Rabindranath Tagore. Saraladevi spent her days of

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16. Tagore Sir Rabindranath, *My Reminiscences,* Macmillan and Co., Limited, London, 1917, p. 150

17. *Ibid,* p. 46

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childhood and youth in Jadasanko, the family house of the Tagores at Calcutta. *Jībaner Jharā Pātā*, the autobiographical work of Saraladevi Choudhurani, records the major happenings in her life. She was a product of the Bethune School. As one can observe, right since her childhood she had a fascination for science labelled usually as boys' subject. As she comments, her decision was to study physics like "the boys of the household". She could get the permission of the school to attend only the evening classes of the Science association of the school apparently because she could not learn the science subjects in the daytime. This gesture made her different from the other contemporary girls. The over-all culture of the family of Tagores had a deep impression on her young and inquisitive mind. Among the various guests, she records Madam Blavatsky and Col. Ollcott. It shows the impact of Theosophical Society on her mind in her formative years. Saraladevi got permission to teach in a school at Mysore but on account of her ill health she could not continue the service. Actually, she had started a school in the Tagore house during her school and college days.

The renaissance in Bengal that started in the early nineteenth century later generated a novel consciousness among some women who had a rich socio-cultural background. It moulded their thinking. In a way then, such a woman who was a product of the second or third generation since the initiation of the reform process was a 'new woman'. Saraladevi who was connected to the Tagore family through her mother's side was a representative of this 'new woman'.[18]

It is obvious that even before completing her education, Saraladevi was concerned about the general weak appearance of the Bengali men. Her articles in the family journal '*Bharati*' are evidence of this thought. As she reveals, her message was for 'self-defence and physical courage'. Her idea of masculinity was to be connected with arousing patriotism against the British rule. She writes that a poem of Rabindranath Tagore created a deep impression on her

18. Forbes Geraldine, *The New Cambridge History of India Women in Modern India*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, Reprint 1999 (First South Asian Paperback Edition 1998), pp. 29-30

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mind. English translation of the poem would be: "Oh, Bharati, why is your Veena silent? Oh, mother, why is the *Veena* of *Bhāratbhūmi*, the sound of which pervades the sky, not getting played?"[19] The poem as one can grasp has a representation of *Bhāratmātā*. The impression of the words and the rhythmic sound of the *Veena* continued to grip the mind of Saraladevi throughout her visit of Western India and even after she came back to Calcutta. She had toured Western India with her elder maternal uncle Satyendranath Tagore. Her articles in '*Bharati*' were filled with patriotism. She started forming groups of school and college male students who took oaths of serving the motherland with their body, mind and wealth. As a mark of generating the principle of unity, she tied a *rakhi* (a red string) on everyone's hand. These were the days of Partition of Bengal and hence this act had a definite nationalistic impression and thereby it conveyed that Saraladevi advocated an upsurge of masculine power to protect the motherland. Among her followers there was a student named Manilal Ganguli who was the nephew of Satish Mukherjee, editor of the contemporary newsletter *Dawn*. He along with other youths had established an organisation called *Sahitya Samiti* which was like a literary circle. Manilal invited Saraladevi to be the chief guest at the *Samvatsari* festival of the organisation. Her insistence to have the function on the 1st day of Hindu calendar *Vaishakh* is very significant. This day being the beginning of the New Year in Bengal, Sarala wished to initiate a novel practice. She picked up a detail from the history of Bengal and pointed out that it is on this day that Pratāpāditya, a medieval Bengali *zamindar* who fought against the Mughal king, had his coronation. Pratāpāditya had also issued coins in his name to convey his independence. Her emphasis on this point was done with the motive of elevating him as a hero of Bengal whom the contemporary youths could venerate and who would be the sign post of inspiration to the youths of Bengal as an opponent of foreign power. The objective attained reality when she advocated for a show of the athletic and martial arts display on the part of the youths present on the occasion. Thus the first show of martial arts like sword- fighting and acrobatics under the leadership of Sarala

19. Choudhurani Sarala Devi, *Jībaner Jharā Pātā*, Rupa and Company, Calcutta, Delhi, 1975, p. 125

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was organised on this day and as she records, the entire atmosphere was replete with the fervour of Hindu nationalism. The medals were distributed to all the participants by her. It is noteworthy to mention that the medals had the Sanskrit wording '*Devāḥ Durbalaghātakāḥ*' inscribed on them. The words would mean 'Gods are destroyers of the Feeble (men)'. In other words, Sarala wished to convey the message that the gods do not offer their support to those who are weak. Thereby, Sarala wished strongly to infuse masculine power that would be directed towards strengthening nationalism. This episode soon became the favourite topic of the contemporary newspapers. The newspaper *Sanjeevani* commented that it was laudable to watch a woman leader at the function of Bengali youths while another newspaper *Bangavasi* published a report on this function. The report said, "Oh hail! Look at this scene...The prize distribution of the weapons to the strong hands of Bengali youths is done at the hands of the soft hands of a Bengali Brahmin girl while invoking the spirit of the Bengali brave. Is it that a ten-armed goddess has alighted with her body? The daughter in the house of a Brahmin has arisen, the blissful days of Bengal have returned." Bipin Chandra Pal, the extremist leader of nationalism in *Young India* wrote, "As necessity is the mother of Invention, Sarala Devi is the mother of Pratāpāditya to meet the necessity of a hero of Bengal."[20] After this festive function Sarala Devi started publishing pamphlets in the name '*Banger Vīr*'.

After the above success Sarala Devi wished to perpetuate the bravery of Udayāditya, the son of Pratāpāditya. Udayāditya, as she interpreted, led the life of resistance against the Mughals. The festival was to be celebrated on the second day of *Dūrgā Pūja* and this day was named as Vīr *Aṣṭamī*. Sarala Devi taught the youths a *stotra* or Sanskrit canto after reciting which they would offer *puṣpānjalī* or a handful of flowers on the *aṣṭamī* day. The canto had these words at the beginning, "*Vīraṣṭamyaṁ mahātīrṭhau pūrvā pūrvāgatan vīran*" i.e., "On the pious occasion of *Vīraṣṭamī* (let us remember) the past heroes."[21] The essential nature of the festival would be worship of the weapons. The display of the martial arts would follow the act of worship. The

20. *Ibid*, p. 128

21. Ibid, , p. 141

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recital of a Sanskrit prayer on this occasion was quite significant because as per the suggestions of Sarala Devi the prayer had the names of the historical heroes of the whole of India, more so of Maharashtra and Punjab. This reflects the earnest desire of Sarala Devi of not only putting the festival on national footing but also directing the youths of Bengal to emulate the heroic deeds of the glorious heroes of other provinces of India. This was an unforeseen venture for the contemporary society, especially of Bengal and evoked awe when published in the contemporary newspapers. An immediate favourable response to this idea of Sarala Devi came from the newspaper *Bengalee*. It said, "Sarala Debi is giving fresh 'surprise spring' every day. After getting up every day we think what is next?" After announcing the festival and anointing it as *Vīraṣṭamī*, Sarala Devi started *Vyāyām* or exercise club in front of her house where the youth were taught war sports. Without putting the festival only in the context of Hindu nationalism, Sarala Devi also exhorted the Muslims to initiate on Moharrum these activities to strengthen male power.

Sarala Devi's emphasis was not only on arousing masculinity through the martial arts or making the youth to take up arms but it was the very mind set of the Bengali youth that she wished to change. Her initial mantra of '*balam balam bahubalam*' (the vigour is of the arms) was later transformed as '*brahmatejo balam balam*' (the vigour is of the lustre of Brahma) indicating thereby that the lustre of strength appears on the face from the inner mind. The passage that she quotes from an English book shows as to how passionately she was trying to construct masculinity as an essential catalyst for the creation of nationalism. She quotes, "A physically weak nation is drained out mentally, its feet are on the downward path and it will end upon the scrap-heap if it does not act before it is too late. To change from a weakling to a perfect man, build yourself up, clear your befuddled brain and develop your muscles. The one great test of manliness is courage, both mental and physical."[22]

This action of Saraladevi is also to be viewed in the context of Swadeshi movement that had spread in Bengal even before 1905. She opened Laksmi

22. *Ibid*, p. 136

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Bhandar or a Swadeshi Store on the Cornwallis Street in Calcutta wherein she encouraged the workers to prepare the textiles of exquisite quality. In 1904 she obtained gold medal for exhibiting the improvised varieties of the textures of fabric.

Her unique efforts are seen in the sphere of instilling bravery among the Bengali men. Her starting of Birashtami festival, spreading the message of the need for self-defence and physical courage to the Bengali men and her organisation of the *akhārās* (gymnasium) aimed at making the Bengali men vigorous and freedom fighters. She being an ardent nationalist, Saraladevi's efforts can be interpreted as inculcating masculinity for national movement. The colonial formations of Indian masculinity since the 18th century suited the imperialist approach of India as a dark age wherein the Indian rulers were portrayed as inefficient and effeminate. The descriptions of the Peshwas as penned by the European visitors apparently reflect the same ideas. With this background Saraladevi's autobiography shows that during her visit to Maharashtra at the end of the 19th century she was highly impressed by the *Vyāyām* Clubs (exercise groups) and the other martial training sessions in Maharashtra. The *Vyāyām* Clubs of Maharashtra were the training grounds for the revolutionary activities of Vasudev Balvant Phadke and Chafekar brothers. It was this image of the Maharashtrian youths, so full of masculine activities, she wished to reconstruct in Bengal since according to her, the Bengali men were considered coward and physically weak. Thereby, in a way, she planned to reconstruct the nationalist image of the Bengali men being full of vigour and vitality.

These efforts of Saraladevi towards the motivation of the vigour of the youth of Bengal are to be viewed in the contemporary picturisation of the Bengali youths in the colonial perspectives. By and large the British rulers seem to have made a taxonomical categorization of the Indian rulers into martial and non-martial types. The Bengalis generally were labelled as effeminate. The over-all dependency of the Bengali *zamindar*s and the new Bengali *babu*s on the colonial administrative and economic positions offered by the British, put them in position of leisure. Such a position appears to have

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been consolidated by the Permanent Settlement started by Lord Cornwallis in 1793. Permanent Settlement perpetuated the *zamindari* rights of the Bengali *zamindars*. Further, the initiation of the Subsidiary Alliance by Lord Wellesley percolated this position among many Indian *rajas* who availed themselves of British protection. The case of the Maratha rulers also can be given here e. g. Peshwa Bajirao II. The British portrayal of Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao by the European painters who visited the Peshwa court also has to be seen in this light.[23] Thus one can see that the colonial masculinity was a circumstantial phenomenon. Nevertheless it clashed with the concept of the imaging of *Bharatmata* since *Bharatmata* required brave men to bring her out of the clutches of the British rule. The concept of *Bharatmata* was a nationalist reconstruction. '*Bańde Mātaram*' of Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay as is seen from his novel *Ānandmaṭh* is the poetic representation of *Bharatmata*.

Saraladevi was sensitive to the contemporary scorn of the Bengali men with regards to their weakness and cowardice.[24] She wished to wipe out this impression about the Bengali men. She was convinced that only when the Bengali youth had physical strength, their mind would be strong. Saraladevi's effort of gathering the masculine power also has at the backdrop the image of *Bharatmata*. Thus to protect *Bharatmata*, Saraladevi wished to arouse the force of the power of the Bengali men. It is for this reason that she picked up those examples from the history of Bengal that would display the heroic past and propagate masculinity in Bengal. Such efforts on the part of Saraladevi are indicative of her extreme consciousness in creating heroic figures[25] and her earnest desire to replicate these into the contemporary times. While doing

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23. Shirgaonkar Varsha S. , *Eighteenth Century Deccan: Cultural History of the Peshwas*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 147-48; D. B. Parasnis, *Poona in the Bygone Days*, Times Press, Bombay, 1921, p. 13

24. Karlekar Malavika, *Voices from Within Early Personal Narratives of Bengali Women*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, 1991, p. 187

25. Sangari Kumkum and Vaid Sudesh (ed.), *Recasting Women Essays in Colonial History*, Zubaan an imprint of Kali for Women, New Delhi, Reprint 2010 (First Impression 1989), p.63

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this she had realised that Rajasthan or Maharashtra had their own heroes in medieval times from which inspiration could be taken. These heroes were the defiant figures who could be venerated in nineteenth century for generating nationalism in the respective parts of India. Bengal in medieval times hardly had any hero who could be emulated by the nineteenth or early twentieth century Bengali youths. Thus Bengal had an urgent need for such a hero who could be brought up from the past and become a symbol of revolutionary nationalism. It is for this reason that Saraladevi picked up the examples of two *zamindars* namely Pratāpāditya and Udayāditya who in medieval times fought against the tyrannical rule of the Muslim kings.

It must not be ignored that in reality both these so-called heroes did have some dubious record associated with their characters. Saraladevi seems to have conveniently kept it aside because she urgently needed some heroes from the history of Bengal whom the contemporary youth could follow and thereby Bengal could witness an upsurge of masculine energy to fight the British rule. But her uncle Rabindranath Tagore had reservations about these two characters that Saraladevi had chosen, i.e., Pratāpāditya and Udayāditya for creating heroic upsurge among Bengali youth. According to him these two characters could not be taken as the true role models for nationalism. They were merely rebels in medieval times. Saraladevi's autobiography records as to how Tagore expressed displeasure about her larger than life portrayals of these two historical characters. He did not directly oppose Saraladevi's efforts of putting them on a pedestal but conveyed his discontent through one Dinesh Sen. According to Tagore, Pratāpāditya did not deserve so much hero worship not only in Bengalis and others as well. The unwillingness on the part of Tagore to offer recognition to Pratāpāditya and Udayāditya is understandable. As stated above his Bengali work *Kathā O Kāhinī* has the long poems on the Rajput kings and Shivaji. His effort thereby is to make the Bengalis act with real bravery as in other parts of India thus it served the purpose of encouraging the Bengalis to inculcate such heroism. It is on this background that one can understand as to why he did not sanction the elevation of Pratāpāditya by Salaradevi. In comparison with the leaders like Shivaji or the Rajput *rajas*, the actions of Pratāpāditya were not only tiny

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but also unworthy. It is quite possible that in comparison, Pratāpāditya and Udayāditya fell short in his eyes. Consequently Tagore doubted the credibility of the work of these heroes of Bengal and questioned their exalted status given by Saraladevi. But the forthright answer of Saraladevi was that she did not pick up Pratāpāditya as an 'ideal moral being' but as a brave *zamindar,* who fought against the Mughal king. She wrote in her autobiography about Pratāpāditya that he "was politically great, was the Shivaji of Bengal; he was the only Hindu Zamindar who rose against Moghal emperor and to proclaim independence and strike coins." For her this very action of Pratāpāditya to challenge the Mughal rule, was an act of *pauruṣ* (masculinity) and she reinstated him as a representative of this masculinity.[26] After her upfront answer, she writes that Dineshbabu never turned up again. It shows as to how Bengal seriously needed some icon of bravery, as Shivaji was in Maharashtra, to be worshipped. As Lokmanya Tilak had started Shivaji Utsav, Saraladevi wished the Bengali youths to celebrate a day in honour of a Bengali leader of medieval times. One can also observe as to how Saraladevi was influenced by the valorous deeds of Shivaji. For her the name of Shivaji was synonymous in the bravery.

There is very little information on the historicity of Pratāpāditya. An extremely rare and unprocurable biography of Pratāpāditya is by Harish Tarkalankar of sixty-three pages published in 1853 by Vernacular Literature Committee of Calcutta. It is entitled as *Pratāpāditya Cāritra, Last King of Sagar Island, Life.* The biography records that Rājā Pratāpāditya lived during the reign of Akbar in the Jessore District and founded a unique city in a location, which was a part of Sunderbuns in the nineteenth century. The author, Harish Tarkalankar informs that this biography was compiled nearly fifty years ago as a text book for the College of Fort William where Persian and Bengali languages were taught. The biography states that the immediate ancestors of Rājā Pratāpāditya lived at Saigan which was a great hub of trade in medieval times. They went to Guar, subsequently and gained importance in the close circle of the king there. Rājā Pratāpāditya received a land-grant in the area, later called Sunderbuns. But he was a defiant king and refused to

26. Choudhurani Sarala Devi, *op. cit.*, p. 129

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pay tribute to the then Emperor Akbar with the result that he was taken by Akbar's army as captive in iron cage to Benaras where he died.[27] If we go by this description of the biography of Rājā Pratāpāditya then we can understand that the biography was compiled sometime in 1803. It is probable that when Saraladevi wished to revive the memories of Pratāpāditya in the beginning of twentieth century, she had surveyed Bengali literature as to whether there was any other hero whose biography could have been written. To her utter unhappiness she could not find any other suitable personality of heroism and hence she had to project Pratāpāditya as the sole hero of medieval Bengal to rise against the Muslim rule. All-the-same, it is a matter of surprise that nowhere in *Jībaner Jharā Pātā*, her autobiography, Saraladevi has referred to the above-stated biography of Pratāpāditya. Hence we don't know whether she was aware of the biography. There is no mention of this biography by her even at the time when she was defending the greatness of Pratāpāditya to Dinesh Sen who at the behest of Rabindranath Tagore wanted her to omit Pratāpāditya as a role model for Bengalis.

Saraladevi's admiration for the masculinity of Western India can be viewed since her visit to Sholapur. She writes that since '*meja māmā*' (elder maternal uncle) i.e., Satyendranath Tagore had some work at Sholapur she and her mother accompanied him. She describes the celebrations there on the occasion of *Dasara*. Marathi club at Satara where the festivities of *Dasara* were arranged was filled with enthusiasm because Gaekwad of Baroda was to be the chief guest. It was awesome experience for Sarala to be the spectator of the martial arts like '*lāṭhi talwār*' (stick and sword) and other athletic sports which were part of the '*vyāyāmer pradarśanī*' (exhibits of athletics). She was even impressed by the speeches brimming with power displaying masculine strength. Her sarcastic remark reflects her anguish when she writes, "*Āmāder deśer bāināch, gān o madyapān prabhṛtir dhārā noy*" (Not like the

27. Long J., *A Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works containing a Classified List of Fourteen Hundred Bengali Books and Pamphlets which have issued from the Press, during the last sixty years with occasional notices of the subjects, the price and where printed*, Printed by Sanders, Cones and Co., Calcutta, 1855, p. 31

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female dance, song and the drinking in our land).[28] It is to be noted that practically all the functions of the Bengalis including Dūrgāpūja had the '*bāi-nāch*'. From Sholapur Sarala went to Pune. The city must have left a deep impression on her mind because the *vyāyām* and *kusti* traditions were the representatives of the vigour of Maharashtra. Besides, as her autobiography records, the revolutionary action of Chaphekar brothers subtly weighed on her mind and she was curious to find out the forces that motivated such an action. It is probable that she had known about the techniques employed by Chaphekar brothers that were full of bravery. A specific technique of Chaphekar brothers was known as *Gofnya Maruti* meaning hurling of stones before Māruti thus, as if, to instil the power of this god. The Chaphekar brothers, Damodar, Balkrishna and Vasudev, had reorganised their club with select associates and this club came to be known as 'Chaphekar Club'.[29] It is necessary to state that Saraladevi was not impressed by the functions like Civil Service Dance that was kept in honour of Satyendranath Tagore. Such shows were probably unpalatable to Sarala who was more concerned about the precarious living conditions of the people of Pune. When she was so drawn to understand the nature of masculine power that many times awed the British, it was but natural for Sarala to visit Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the contemporary leader of Maharashtra. She writes that those were the days when Tilak was caught up in Tai Maharaj Case. She accompanied Satyendranath Tagore when he was invited for lunch at the residence of N. C. Kelkar. In her mind, she compared the faces of two political leaders of Maharashtra viz, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Lokamanya Tilak. Her sentence about this comparison as is appears in her autobiography is very interesting. About the face of Tilak she writes, "*Ceherā ekṭā balaśālitver o ekṭā aṭal dṛḍhatār chāp. Gokhaler ceherā je komalatā chhilo ta nei*"(His face imbued a glow of certain bravery and sternness- not like the tender feeling seen on the face of Gokhale.)."[30] Such a description of the facial expressions of two

28. Saraladevi, *op. cit.*, p. 104

29. Sunthankar B. R., *Maharashtra 1858-1920*, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1st Pub., 1993, p. 493

30. Saraladevi, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-81

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men by a woman, at the beginning of twentieth century, was indeed a real bold one. For Sarala Devi the actions of the people of Maharashtra displayed bravery and even their music and songs were full of masculine force that aroused vigour. She mentions that she was eager to listen to this music in her journey within Maharashtra. Her autobiography states the places of their visit as Sholapur, Satara, Poona, Pandharpur and Mahabaleshwar. Her imagery is quite fascinating. She writes, "As a cat would be restless to eat fish after smelling it, I would be eager to listen to the music."[31] The 'music' in this sentence is the music of Maharashtra filled with vigour.

Sarala was so hypnotised as her autobiography *Jībaner Jharā Pātā* reflects, by the bravery of contemporary Maharashtra that even while returning to Bengal by train the memories of Maharashtra simply gripped her mind. The Bengali men standing at the stations in Bengal appeared to her as such weaklings that they "would fall even when someone struck them with a coin." The melancholic faces of the Bengali youths created repulsion in her mind as against the robustness and determined expressions of the faces of the men of Maharashtra and Punjab. She reasoned to herself that such servile expression on the faces of the Bengali youths was because the Bengalis continued to be the servants of the colonial period since many years. The expression of this servility, according to her, had become a hereditary factor. Hence her autobiography shows her resolve to remove the fear of the fair complexion (the British rule) from the Bengali minds.[32] After coming to Calcutta from Maharashtra, Sarala Devi wrote an article in the Bengali magazine *Bharati* of which she was an editor and in which she used to write occasionally. The article was entitled '*Bangali O Marathi*' wherein she was forthright in comparing the Bengali men and the men of Maharashtra and went on pressing the need of strengthening the physical power of the Bengali men that could be directed for the national cause.[33] In the introspective frame of mind she pointed out that the mode of celebration of festivals in Bengal

31. *Ibid*, p. 76

32. *Ibid*, p. 126

33. *Ibid*, p. 103

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that thrust upon mere show of dance and music required transformation. The celebration, as she emphasised, should have a tinge of heroism and it could be brought by the display of martial arts. This thought of hers, as if put the thread of transformation in her hand and then the idea of holding Vīraṣṭamī festival germinated in her mind. In the Vīraṣṭamī festival of 1903 Saraladevi added the name of Pratāpāditya to the list of mythological and historical heroes. On the second day of Dūrgā Pūjā she also insisted that the youths take Udayaditya *vrata* (a vow in the name of the bygone heroes). Thus both Pratāpāditya and Udayāditya were placed along with Krishna, Rama, Bhishma, Drona, Karna, Arjuna, Bhima, Meghnad, Rana Pratap, Shivaji and Ranjit Singh.[34] The intense thought of instilling bravery among Bengali Men created the sound of *Rudraveena* in her mind when she wrote a sensational article entitled 'Foreigners Have Made Intrusions Weakening the Natives'. Through the pages of *Bharati* she announced that in the railways, steamers, on the roads, on the banks of rivers, wherever any '*Gora Sainik*' (a White soldier) or any civilian insulted a woman or any person and if such a person did not approach any court of justice then he was free to send a write-up regarding the insult flung at him for publication in *Bharati*. Thus a movement got generated whereby Sarala assembled a group of protesters. These young men would take an oath of serving India. She started the practice of tying a *Rakhi* (a kind of badge) in the hand of these activists. This was not a secret club but the police had taken a note of the club.[35]

The earnest need of Sarala Devi to infuse bravery in the minds of young Bengali minds is to be viewed with the other contemporary sources. It is important to know that Bengal does not seem to have had physical education till Sir George Campbell (Lt.) introduced it in the 1860s. Bipin Chandra Pal mentions this in his memoirs. Subsequently, Babu Nabagopal Mitra opened

34. Radha Kumar, *The History of Doing An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India 1800-1990*, Zubaan, New Delhi, 1993, p. 40

35. Sarala Devi mentions the name of one Aashu Choudhuri who had a special compassion and faith in her working and hence he sounded her once that the police had taken a note of the club.Saraladevi, *op. cit.*, p. 127

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a physical training club at Calcutta and later a gymnastic school at 1, Sankar Ghosh Lane of which Bipin Chandra was a student.[36]

Some kind of awareness about how the Bengali men could increase their physical strength also was being generated by the contemporary newspapers to instil the spirit of strength in Bengal. Two letters appeared in *Bengal Spectator* in the issues of June 1842 and July 1843 can be cited here. They are entitled '*Bāṅgālidiger Śakti o Sāhasārtha Māṅsa Bhakṣaṇer Prayojan*' ('The Strength of Bengalis and the Need of Meat-eating for Adventure'). The act of meat-eating was hailed to be instrumental to produce physical vigour in Bengali youth. *Bengal Spectator* cited the view of the English newspaper *Edinborough Review* (No. 149, p. 172) that "the body of a Bengali man is as delicate as that of a woman." The *Bengal Spectator* commented that on account of this reason the Bengalis were defeated easily.[37] The first letter to *Bengal Spectator* in June 1842 (No. 3) clearly advocated non-vegetarian diet by emphasising that to gain more strength the vegetarian diet was to be replaced by meat-eating. The writer of this letter accounted for the lack of meat-eating to the weakness of the Bengali men and their deficiency in bravery.[38] In July 1842, there was another letter, discussing the contents of the letter that had previously appeared in *Bengal Spectator* in June 1842 and which had exalted meat-eating. The writer of the letter of July 1842, in a way, challenged the view that meat-eating was essential to gain strength. He pointed out that many of the soldiers of Bengal were having merely *dal ruti* (pulses and bread) and yet they were fighting battles thereby displaying their strength.[39] Yet in all, the writer accepted the recommendation of meat-eating. There was a general belief that the practice of meat-eating results in strengthening the body physically and that thereby body becomes fit for

36. Pal Bipin Chandra, *Memories of My Life and Times*, Bipanchandra Pal Institute, Calcutta, 1973, p. 213

37. Ghosh Vinay (Comp.), *Sāmayik Patre Bāṅglār Samājcitra*, Vol. VI, *Bengal Spectator*, Calcutta, July 1964, pp. 142-43 and pp. 151-54

38. *Ibid*, p. 143

39. *Ibid*, p. 152

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martial arts. These two letters exalted this act especially when the need was of producing self-defiant band of Bengali youths to oppose the British rule. Interestingly, fish-eating was far different from meat-eating. Moreover, the belief was that the Europeans had a hold over their overseas colonies as they nourished their bodies with regular meat-consumption. The newspaper *Bengal Spectator* took up the issue of the requirement of physical strength again in October 1842. A letter was published on 15th October 1842 (No. 10) and was entitled '*Mallayuddha Evam Bāṅgālidiger Durbalatā o asāhasikār Viṣaya*' ('Athletics and the Issue of the Weakness and Lack of Bravery among the Bengalis').[40] The belief that meat-eating brings strength in the body remained even in the 20th century. An incident in the childhood of Mahatma Gandhi reflects on this. His friend Mehtab forced upon small Mohandas to eat meat. While convincing he said, "Behold the mighty Englishman. He rules the Indian- small- because being a meat-eater he is five cubits tall."[41]

If one looks at the history of Bengal since, the medieval period one finds that actually there was a lack of a consolidated group or organisation that would counter-attack the powers attacking Bengal- whether they were the Muslims during the Sultanate or Mughal period, Marathas under Raghuji Bhosle or later the British power that established power in Bengal after the Battle of Plassey in 1757. The medieval history shows that Bengal gradually succumbed to Islamic power without much resistance. By and large the *zamindars* retained their rights of land-ownership till the arrival of the British rule. The British perpetuated their rights over lands. This is in sharp contrast to the resistance offered by the local powers either in the Deccan or Rajputana in medieval and modern periods. In a way, Sarala Devi tried to arouse the Bengali youths to the pursuit of a militant and nationalist culture.[42]

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40. *Ibid*, pp. 158-61
41. Gandhi Rajmohan, *Mohandas A True Story of a Man, his People and an Empire*, Penguin, Viking, New Delhi, 2006, p. 9
42. Sinha Mrinalini, *Colonial Masculinity The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'effeminate Bengali' in the late nineteenth century*, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 1995, p. 21

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The above literary works reflect upon the authors' respectful admiration for the physical strength and character of the people of Maharashtra. But *Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa* written by Gaṅgārām has given an account of the deep fearful impressions that the Marathas left behind on the minds of the people of Bengal. *Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa* is a Bengali manuscript of eighteenth century. The writer of the literary work is one Gaṅgārām and the date of the manuscript is given as 1751-52 (Śake 1158).[43] The manuscript was located first in 1904 in the town of Mymensingh in East Bengal, now in Bangladesh.[44] It was translated and annotated with introduction by Edward C. Dimock, Jr. and Pratul Chandra Gupta in 1985.[45] The theme of this literary work is the expedition of Raghuji Bhosle, a *sardar* of the Marathas, to Bengal that began in April 1742. It is important to know that the historical significance of this literary work by Gaṅgārām as a source of history of that period is acknowledged by the historian G. S. Sardesai in his *New History of the Marathas* Volume II.[46] A brief account of the historical account of the contemporary Bengal could be given as follows. After the death of Aurangzeb the local governors started asserting their powers in their respective provinces. The area comprising of Orissa, Bihar, and Bengal proper was the richest of the Mughal provinces

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43. The difference between Bengali *Śake* and Roman calendar is approximately of 593 years.

44. It is to be noted that the descriptive catalogue of Bengali Works containing a Classified List of Fourteen Hundred Bengali Books and Pamphlets which was prepared and printed in 1855 does not contain *Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa*. J. Long, *op. cit.* It means that the people of Bengal did not probably know about this literary work till the manuscript was found in 1904.

45. Dimock Edward, Jr. and Gupta Pratul Chandra (translated and annotated with introduction), *The Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1961, Introduction, p. 1; Dimock Edward, Jr. and Gupta Pratul Chandra inform us that previously a Sanskrit work named Chitrachampu was written by Vaneshwar Vidyalankar, the court poet of the Maharaja of Burdwan in 1744 but it gave an obscure information in a mere poetic way and hence it could not be taken as a source of history. *Ibid*, p. 5

46. Sardesai Govind Sakharam, *op. cit.*, p. 212

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from where previously the Mughal revenue collectors, even during the days of Aurangzeb, had problems of revenue collection on account of the former Nawab of Murshidabad. The problem of revenue collection became severe when the central control was lost on account of the death of Aurangzeb. Aliwardi Khan, the Turk was appointed by the Mughal rule as Governor of Bengal in 1726. However his usurpation of Patna and Bihar became a cause of worry in the Mughal court and plots were hatched for the subjugation of Aliwardi Khan. Aurangzeb's death was seen by the Marathas as an opportunity to wield influence in the Mughal court for diplomatic reasons. The Marathas wished to take advantage of the concern felt by the Mughals of the rising power of Aliwardi Khan in Bengal. Both, the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao or Nanasaheb, and Raghuji Bhosle of Nagpur competed with each in having an order from the Mughal court to proceed to Bengal. The Maratha King Shahu could not decide on who should be sent among the two. Subsequently, Raghuji Bhosle hatched a plot at Nagpur with his trusted lieutenant Bhaskar Ram to organise a fiery expedition to Bengal and Orissa. In a way, through this attack, Raghuji wished to draw the attention of the Mughal *padshah* to his bravery as against the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao's.[47]

Interestingly, the writer Gaṅgārām attaches certain legitimacy to this attack by Raghuji Bhosle by portraying that it was a divine dispensation. *Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa* starts with a couplet people on earth were sinful and did not worship Radha and Krishna. They day and night indulged in pleasure and adulterous relationships. Seeing this unbearable burden of sin on the earth, Lord Brahma and Lord Shiva had a dialogue for providing solution to the problem. Thereupon, Nandi, on the order of Lord Shiva entered the body of the Deccan king Shahu. Shahu then asked the Mughal *padshah* to instruct Raghuji Bhosle to undertake an expedition of Bengal. Such action, according to poet Gaṅgārām, was necessary because the people had become lazy. The reference to the lines in *Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa* that 'They were also performing the sin of non-payment of taxes' is to be understood as that Bengal had been always evading payment of taxes to the Mughal rule. Though Gaṅgārām does not mention who these people were against whom the expedition was

47. *Ibid*, pp. 208-10

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planned by Raghuji Bhosle, the context of history places this expedition of Raghuji Bhosle on Bengal. The *Purāṇa* further goes on to describe the terrible course of this expedition. The horrible impact of this attack also can be noted by way of a nursery rhyme wherein the mother asks her child to keep quite because the *bargis* invaded the land. The translation of the lines in the *Purāṇa* is as follows: "The baby sleeps and all the countryside is at rest but the *bargis* have invaded our country. The *bulbuli* birds have eaten all the rice; how can we pay the rent?"[48] The word *bargi* here is used for the Maratha soldiers. *Bargi* is a Persian word. It literally means a burden-taker. But the term, in the context of Mughal as well as Maratha army signified a soldier, who rode a horse furnished by the employer.[49] The term *bargi* in *Mahārāṣtra Purāṇa* indicates the horsemen of Raghuji Bhosle. The lines convey that the *bargis* came like birds (locusts) and destroyed the crops and hence the people of Bengal are devoid of grains.

The bond between Bengal and Maharashtra further developed with the backdrop of freedom movement through Swadeshi movement. The State of Maharashtra through ages has left a deep impression on the nearby regions. The trio of Lal (Lala lajpat Rai), Bal (Bal Gangadhar Tilak) and Pal (Bipin Chandra Pal) represented the extremist strand of Indian National Congress. Gradually as the account of the freedom struggle goes, Bengal cast off its image of sublime servility and participated in the revolutionary activities against the British rule. It may be said that the above works had some subtle role to play in revitalising the vigour of Bengal.

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48. Dimock Edward, Jr. and Gupta Pratul Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 13

49. Sen Surendra Nath, *The Military System of the Marathas*, Orient Longmans, Bombay, New Delhi, 1958, p. 4

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THE CONCEPT OF HISTORICAL WRITING AND SANSKRIT DRAMAS•

Sharmila Bagchi••

It becomes a complicated task to look at the ancient, classical world of Literature, Culture and Art in perspective of modern age's specific terminology, as ancient world of yore had everything in combined. It was not tagged with labels of different sections so that we the people of 21st century can pick up things by the label according to specific categories. Since this seminar is focused on Historical Writings in Indian languages, I will talk about historical writing in Sanskrit literature, specifically in Sanskrit Dramas.

History and Mythology in Sanskrit Dramas

The Sanskrit Classical Literature has more or less everything originated from mythologies. One of its two basic epics, *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa is considered as storehouse of mythologies. It generated many Purāṇas, Dramas, *Mahākāvya*s for the ages to come. Now when we look at the ancient world of mythologies all over the world, they are considered as the history of that civilization. Civilizations that were on verge of evolution, ruled by Emperors and Kings who were semi-gods because of their power, velour and bravery. Since that was the age of establishing supremacy of one group/clan on others, winning as many kingdoms as one can, so there were stories of wars and battles in the mythologies. Even Gods and semi-gods took parts in some of the wars.

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•• Oriental institute, The M.S.University of Baroda, Vadodara. M: 9426947941; E-mail: milibagchi2003@yahoo.com

SHARMILA BAGCHI
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The progenitor of Western literary world - the Greek literature has its origin in its mythologies. Like Sanskrit, Greek Tragedy dramas (6th century B.C.) also originated from mythological stories which started from *Dithyramb*s - the praise-songs sung in honour of Dionysus- a god who is believed to have brought Wine (Indian *Somarasa*?) to earth from heaven. The outstanding point of Greeks is that they have documented every activity of theirs from the very initial age (6th century BC!) whereas India continued the oral tradition for preserving its literary traditions for centuries. Greeks preserved their history in black and white which is must as physical evidence to record as history.

Greek dramas were the first literary form which flourished in Greece. In fact the *Dithyramb*s were first dramatic expressions which were presented by 'Chorus'[1]. The songs or the lyrical expressions depicted any historical/ mythological incident. Two of the most famous historians who have ever written, flourished during Greece's classical age: Herodotus and Thucydides. Herodotus is commonly called the father of history, and his 'History' contains the first truly literary use of prose in Western literature. Of the two, Thucydides was the more careful historian. His critical use of sources, inclusion of documents, and laborious research made his History of the Peloponnesian War a significant influence on later generations of historians. A third historian of ancient Greece, Xenophon , began his *Hellenica* where Thucydides ended his work about 411 BC and carried his history to 362 BC. He is at his best in the *Anabasis*, an account of his participation in a Greek mercenary army that tried to help the Persian Cyrus expel his brother from the throne. Xenophon also wrote three works in praise of the philosopher Socrates: *Apology, Symposium and Memorabilla*. Although both Xenophon and Plato knew Socrates, but their accounts are very different, and it is interesting to compare the view of the military historian to that of the poet-philosopher.

So the Greek dramas were originated from mythologies and later on had

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1. "Aristotle believes that the tragedy began in improvisation and originated with the authors of Dithyramb." - Singhal R.L, *Aristotle and Bharata,* VVRI, Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur, Punjab, 1977, p.85

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actual historical wars as subject matters as tragedy was considered as the best form of drama. The Sanskrit term for History is *Itihāsa*. Which means *Iti - Ha -Āasa* literally 'so it was' (as Prof. Kedar Narayan Joshi has explained). The two epics contain the history of two main lineage of ancient India *Suryavaṁśa* (Solar lineage) and *Candravaṁśa* (lunar Lineage).

Epics and *Itihāsa*

'The beginnings of epic poetry in India are to be found in the early Vedic Literature. The *Rg Veda* contained hymns of a narrative character, a short legend in prose and in verse called *Gāthā*, *Nārāśamsi*, *Itihāsa* etc., occur in the *Brāhmaṇa* Literature.'[2]..In the Vedic Literature, there was no essential difference between *Atīta* (past), *Akhyāna* (story), Purāṇa (mythology) and *Itihāsa* (history). They meant ordinarily an old story, legend or incident and they were often inter-changeable (*Ibid*). In the external literature, the terms *Itihāsa* and Purāṇa have acquired a distinct use. *Itihāsa* may correspond to an epic and Purāṇa to a series of narrations. Even in our Institute, the manuscripts belonging to *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* are classified under *Itihāsa* and Purāṇa is a different section.

Basic Concept of Sanskrit Drama

There are many theories of the origin of Sanskrit drama exist along with the divine origin of *Nāṭya* mentioned in *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni. The dramatic elements scattered in Vedas here and there, specially the presence of '*samvāda-sūktas*' in tenth *maṇḍala* of *Rgveda*, present a very strong point for existence of drama from ancient time. The musical structure of Vedic mantras also contributes a lot to the evolution of Sanskrit dramas. Whichever theory may be the reason of the origin of Sanskrit dramas, the story or the plot had a fixed characteristic and that is **Historical Nature.** Now obvious question comes to our mind that how come history was the base line of Sanskrit Dramas? Historical events, characters give a familiar idea to the reader/spectator about what they are going to view/read. The original text

2. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, M. Krishnamachariyar, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi. Patna. Varanasi, 1970, P.2

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may have not discussed about a character or event since it had to cover complete history of an event or family. So there comes the author who can elaborate the historical event/character in his style and present them to the readers /spectators. Sometimes those depictions are exaggerated or some new aspects are added to them. But the basic line of history is intact. *Rāmāyaṇa* has mentioned the event of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa going for *vanavāsa* but how Daśaratha felt, what was the reaction of Bharata on hearing the news of father's death or that the elder brother exiled to forest with family or the other incidentally added characters in the main plot....definitely had their histories. Same way in *Mahābhārata*, other than the war, events related to the lives of *Pāṇḍava*s, *Kaurava*s or the whole clan of *Bharatavaṁśi*s are explored in *Mahākāvya*s, *Nāṭaka*s. The dramatist or rather poet presents the history mixed with his imagination

When we search historical/*Itihāsa* elements in Sanskrit Literature say in *Nāṭaka*s, *Mahākāvya*s[3], *Akhyāyikās*, *Kathā*s, we find a very distinct line in all forms of its literature for History and Imagination i.e. *Prakhyāta* and *Kalpita*. The ten forms of *Rupaka* (drama) are classified on the basis of their story plots under these two catagories. Here *Prakhyāta* word stands for Famous i.e. known to the people through epics, puranas, *kathas* and *akhyana*s etc.

We all know our epics and Purans are the store house of stories which tell the history of ancient India. The names of dynasties who ruled India or *Āryāvarta* and their history is forwarded to us by mythological stories of various Purans and *Mahābhārata*. Though they were not historical in that way as we understand it now as they lack physical evidences or written documents to support their authenticity. But, in the world of Sanskrit literature, mythology is history, they were *Itihāsa* as they were *Prakhyāta*. So the idea of plot - *Kathā Vastu* for *Mahākāvyas* (epics) and *Nāṭaka*s (Dramas) were taken from there. Since the definition of *Nāṭya* given in *Nāṭyaśastra* (NS) says-

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3. मोक्षस्य यत्रोपन्यासः इतिहासः स उच्यते ।
तदेव काव्यमित्युक्तं चोपदेशं विनाकृतम् ॥ *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, Ed. Priyabala Shah, Vol. III, GOS No. 130, Oriental Institute, Vadodara, 1958, 3.15.2.

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सप्तद्वीपानुकरणं नाट्यमेतद्भविष्यति ॥११॥
देवानामसुराणां च राज्ञामथ कुटुम्बिनाम् ।
ब्रह्मर्षिणां च विज्ञेयं नाट्यं वृत्तान्तदर्शकम् ॥ (1/118)[4]

where the (life) story of the native people, gods and demons of seven islands are described that is called *Nāṭya*. Or as Dhanañjaya expanded it by saying -

अवस्थानुकृति नाट्यम् ।- re-creation of a situation is *Nāṭya* (*Daśarūpaka*, 1/8).

While Bharata classifying *Nāṭya/Rūpaka* in ten forms[5] and 14 types of *Uparūpakas*, he gave emphasis on historical element in story - *kathāvastu*. For Sanskrit dramas, there are two kinds of *Kathāvastu* - *Prakhyāta* (famous) and *kalpita* (Imaginary) for which the drama-forms are classified - *Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Bhāṇa, Vyāyoga, Samavakāra, Ḍima, Ihāmṛga, Utsṛṣṭikāṅka, Vīthī, Prahasana*. Among these, *nāṭāka, vyāyoga, samavakara, ḍima* and *utsṛṣṭikanka* have *Prakhyāta* story-plot and *prakaraṇa, bhāṇa, ihāmṛga, vīthī* and *prahasana* have *Kalpita* story-line. For Sanskrit dramas NS says-

प्रख्यातवस्तुविषयं प्रख्यातुदात्तनायकं चैव ।
राजर्षिवंशचरितं तथैव दिव्याश्रयोपेतम् ॥ NS. 18.10

Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa (Vdh P) says -

इतिहासानुसारेण पुराणानां च समीक्षितम् ।
चरितं त्रिदशानां वा नाटकं तत्र कीर्तितम् ॥

Historical Sanskrit Dramas

It is said that *Bhāratavarṣa* was ruled by *Sūryavaṁśī Ikṣavākus* and *Candravaṁśī Bharats* and their history is described in *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki

4. *Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni*, Vol. I, Ed. K. Krishnamoorti (revised edition), GOS 36, Oriental Institute , Vadodara, 1992, P.42

5. *Ibid*,13.59-64; But *Agnipurāṇa* accepts 27 kinds, Bhoja 24 (in *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*), Śāradātanaya 30 (in *Bhāvaprakāśa*).

Nāṭyalalitakalāsaṅgraha, Ed. Radhavallabh Tripathi, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 2012, pp.197-198 .

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and *Mahābhārata* of Vedavyasa. *Mahābhārata* has provided maximum storylines to Sanskrit dramas. Simple historical facts may tell us that there was a family feud in the dynasty of *Bharats* where a massive war took place between the cousin brothers -*Pāṇḍava*s and *Kaurava*s in which *Pāṇḍava*s won the war. This story was inspiration to the epic called *Mahābhārata* or rather we should say that *Mahābhārata* provided history of *Bharatavaṁśie*s to the world. Each character mentioned there has one or many stories which is some way or the other add up the history of *Bharatavaṁśa*. Some of these stories were used as *Kathāvastu* of many dramas. We find Bhāsa's six out of thirteen plays which are based on *Mahābhārata* stories and these are not *nāṭakas* only but *Vyāyoga* (*Madhyama Vyāyoga, Dūtavākya, Dūtaghaṭotkaca* -according to Keith), *Utsṛṭikāṅka (Karṇabhāra, Urubhaṅga Dūtaghaṭotkaca*), *Samavakāra* (*Pañcarātra*). Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntala* tells us how *Bharatavaṁśa* came into existence - got its name though the story of *Śakuntalā* is already mentioned in Mbh. Kālidāsa took another plot from *Ṛgveda* i.e. *Vikramorvaśīyam* where story of King Pururuvā and damsel Urvaśī is described (10th *maṇḍala*, 95th *sūkta*, 1-18 *mantra*). Another Sanskrit play *Venisaṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa depicts a very important portion of *Mahābhātrata* that is killing of Duśśāsana by Bhīma.

Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is an epic which presents the history of *Ikṣvāku*s or *Raghuvaṁśi*s. Thus being *Prakhyāta*, it has provided *Kathāvastu* (drama-plot) to many Sanskrit dramas be it Bhāsa's *Abhiṣekanāṭaka* (story from *Bālivadha* to the coronation of Rāma), *Pratimānāṭaka* (story from Rāma's exile to his coronation), Bhavabhūti's *Mahāviracarita*, *Uttararāmacarita*, Rajaśekhara's *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Śaktibhadra's *Āścaryacūḍamaṇi*, Murari's *Anargharāghava*, Māyuraja's *Udāttarāghava*, etc.

Other than *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and mythological stories from Purāṇas, stories from *Bṛhatkathā, Kathāsaritsāgara* were also accepted as *Prakhyāta*. Even some folk-stories were also repeated by many as Plot that they sounded like historical as we find *Udayana-Vāsavadattā, Cārudatta-Vasantsenā, Agnimitra* etc. Udayana-story was very popular among dramatists. The drama '*Nāgānanda*, of Harṣa was inspired from a story from

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Kathāsaritsāgara[6]. Even some dramatists were themselves a part of history as they belonged to time period of some of the kingdoms or were rulers themselves. The time period of Bhāsa is not determined but he enjoyed the patronage of some king that is for sure.T. Ganapati Sastri assigns him 5th century BC.[7] Kālidāsa, kings like Harṣa , Śūdraka or Indragupta, Aśvaghoṣa, Bhavabhūti, Viśākhadatta.... and many more, some way or the other tell us about the time-period of their existence by their plays.

Some historical characters which were treated as myths also became drama characters and were appreciated since centuries like *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadūtta who made the character of Kauṭilya - a mortal human being.

It were Jain Sanskrit dramatists who actually started using contemporary historical incidents as *kathāvastu* for their dramas. Though it was to propagate Jain religion or to prove its supremacy to other religions. It is a notable fact that all Jain Sanskrit dramatists flourished from 11th century. In fact Sanskrit drama itself bloomed in Gujarat in 11th century during the rule of Solanki king Jaisingh who was known as *Siddharāja* nee *Siddhacakravartī* after his great win of Sorath in V.S. 1170. But Gujarat's Sanskrit dramatists not only adopted contemporary historical events as plots for their dramas but they tried other dramatic forms of *Rūpaka* - drama to express their creativity. Among them *Prakaraṇa* and *Vyāyoga* were their favorites as they could select heroes from common man (not of royal lineage) or describe about wars or simple clashes of the society. Other than the contemporary history, they wrote mostly on the *Mahābhārata*'s episodes. Some of the historical dramas are-

Hammiramadamardana'[8](five act) of Jaisimhasūrī (12th century) in somewhere between 1219-1229 AD, on the incidence of King Viradhavala

6. *Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva*, Ed. Kedarnath Sharma 'Sārasvat', Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna -1976, *Jimūtavāhanakathā, Caturtha Lambaka, Dvitīya Taraṅga*, 16-257.
7. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, P.558
8. *Hammirmadamardana of Jaisimhasuri*, Ed. C.D.Dalal, Oriental Institute's GOS No. 10 , 1920

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defeating a Mughal king Hammira or rather Amir (not father of Akbar) who invaded Gujarat. *Moharājaparājaya*'[9] (in five acts) of Yaśapāla (13th century) an allegorical drama describing the overcoming of King Moha (temptation) or the conversion of Kumārapāla, the Chalukya king - father of Ajayapāla, of Gujarat to Jainism. *Mudritakumudacandra*[10] is a historical as well as religious play. Though a *Prakarana*, it was written to prove the supremacy of *Śvetambara* sect on *Digambara* sect by depicting the *Śastrārtha* of Devacandrasūri (Guru of Hemcandrācarya - a *Śvetāmbara*; VS 1143-1226) a native of Gujarat and Kumudacandra, a native of Karnataka and Digambara follower. The *śastrārtha* was held in Karṇavtī (present Ahmedabad). Other then contemporary history, most of them selected stories from *Mahābhārata*.

The later dramatists or rather the dramatists till 19th century adopted story-plots mostly from *Mahābhārata* as it is a store house of stories and they are *prakhyāta*. Here *Prakhyāta* means famous (or familiar?) - a mythological character or folk story hero/ hero of the epic in simple words, a character from the past. And the logic behind selecting a hero from *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas was that people know a contemporary person very well like us mortals so they are not interested in him. You cannot imagine about a future great man. So a person belonging to past/ history, a noble one whose stories are famous and told many a time, will be interesting to see coming to life on stage or in literature. The hero should be a human being, from this earth as people can identify him with them. He should be a *kṣatriya* king whose heroine can be divine. Now these characteristics we find only in Vedic *ākhyānas*, epics and mythologies i.e. Purāṇas.

It is not always the history of a particular continent, country or community that reflects in the literature of a particular language. The gradual evolution history of a language also helps us to add up the lost history of a civilization. The tradition of Sanskrit language never insisted of mentioning date or self

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9. *Moharājaparājaya of Yaśahpal*, Ed. by Muni Caturvijayaji, Central Library, Baroda, 1918

10. *Mudritakumudacandra of Yaśascandra*, Svetambar Jain Yashovijay Granthamala - 8, Banaras, 1906

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identification by a creator in his/her work and modern historians wants data with clear dates.

The point here is, in classical Sanskrit dramas, we accept mythological stories as historical stories. In later stage, the great living personalities, the changing political scenario i.e. freedom movements, religious movements, reformatory movements, cultural transition etc replaced the mythological plots with real historical plots and they are accepted by the *pandits* as they are *prakyāta*. Muslim, British invasions, Freedom-movement, Freedom fighters, the modern historical characters became the centre of story in Sanskrit dramas. The concept of Sanskrit drama is also drastically changed. The rules laid by the predecessors are not followed but a set of universal drama-rules for all languages theatre are being followed by Sanskrit dramatists also where day to day events have replaced the traditional stories. They have only one form of drama (not ten), small in size (not five or more acts-*ankas*) divided in scenes -*drsyas* only, characters belonging to different walks of the society, can be tragic, comic or romantic.

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MARITIME ACTIVITIES OF MAURYAN INDIA WITH REFERENCE TO THE COAST OF KALIṄGA

Benudhar Patra*

Introduction

The Mauryan period marked a conspicuous growth in the maritime trade and overseas activities of early India. The material prosperity and political hegemony of Mauryan India was largely dependent on the maritime commerce and overseas relations. The vast coast of India, both on the west and on the east was studded with a number of all seasoned ports and port-towns like Bharukachha, Tāmraliptī, Pālur etc., which were connected with different interior parts of India through different perennial rivers and rivulets. The Indica of Megāsthenes, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the Inscriptions of Aśoka and the sculptural pieces of the Sānchi stūpa refers to the glorious maritime activities of the Mauryas. While the Indica of Megāsthenes refers to a board of admiralty, the Arthaśastra of Kauṭilya narrates the duties and responsibilities of the nāvadhyakṣha (the superintendent of ships). It was the lucrative maritime business and strategic location of Kaliṅga, being situated on the coast of the Bay of Bengal that tempted Aśoka to invade and conquer Kaliṅga in c.261 BCE. The sailors not only carried out various commodities in their voyages to different countries such as Sri Lanka, the islands of Indonesia, Malaysia, Cambodia, Burma etc., but also diffused and disseminated their culture and civilization wherever they went. Various causes like the spirit of adventure, profit incurred from the maritime trade, missionary activities and the thirst to establish colonies and to start their dynasty in the foreign soils inspired and imbibed them to take such onerous but lucrative enterprise. In the absence

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* P.G. Department of History, Post Graduate Govt. College, Sector-11, Chandigarh(UT). pin-160011. Email: dr-benudharpatra@yahoo.co.in, M. 9569909144

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of advanced technology, the ancient sailors preferred to sail along the coast with the help of monsoon winds. They moved with the help of sails. In the present paper, a sincere attempt has been made to trace out and analyse the maritime activities of the Mauryan Empire with special reference to the coast of Kaliṅga or ancient Odisha on the basis of the data, as reflected in the literary and archaeological sources.

Mauryan Maritime Activities in Retrospect

The Mauryan Empire, the foundation of which was laid in c. 322 BCE by Chandragupta Maurya continued with remarkable achievements till c. 185 BCE, when its last ruler, Brihadratha was assassinated by his own commander-in-chief, a Brahman, Pushyamitra Suṅga. The Mauryan period, in fact, marked an epoch in the saga of the early Indian history. The Mauryan empire which was vast, encompassed almost entire Indian landmass, from the Himalayas in the North to the present Karnataka state (up to the river Pennār) in the south; from the Brahmaputra river and the Bay of Bengal in the East to the Arabian sea in the west and the Hindukush mountains in the North-west, including some portions of Kashmir and Nepal with its capital at the historic city Pāṭaliputra (Pālibothra, a very large and wealthy city according to Megāsthenes).(Map.1) It was very powerful and prosperous; in other words, it can be said that the success of this empire was possible because of its economic prosperity. Its material growth and sound financial base were largely derived from its maritime commerce and overseas activities. The *Indica* of Megāsthenes, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the inscriptions of Aśoka refers to spectacular maritime enterprises of the Mauryas. The representation of boats in the sculptures of the Sānchi Stūpa (eastern gateway of No.1 *stūpa* and western Gateway of No.1 *stūpa*) which are assigned to the period of Aśoka also throw positive light on the maritime activities of the Mauryans. In the present paper, an endeavour has been made to trace out and analyse the maritime activities of the Mauryan Empire with special reference to the eastern coast, particularly the coast of Kaliṅga or ancient Odisha.

The Mauryan period (c. 322 BCE to c. 185 BCE), which succeeded to that of the Nandas, witnessed great developments in the field of maritime

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trade and overseas activities. During this period, the oceanic enterprise and navigational activities of India were more regular and better regulated. The Greek and the Roman literary records, which depict Alexander's campaign and contemporary events, provide abundant information regarding the maritime intercourse of this period. The western sailors (i.e. the Greek and the Roman sailors) frequently visited the west coast of India. From the Greek accounts, it becomes evident that during Alexander's aggression, India was well acquainted with nautical affairs. Alexander became successful in crossing the river Indus only because of the boats that were supplied by the native craftsmen. A flotilla of boats was also used in bridging the difficult river of the Hydāspes (Jhelum).[1] A number of big and perennial rivers like the Sindhu (Indus), Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Narmadā etc., which were navigable throughout the year, provided abundant facilities for transportation of commodities in the riverine trade. Trading activities were conducted through these rivers; as a result, there developed several towns and trade emporiums on the banks of these rivers such as Banaras, Allahabad, Pātaliputra, and Kolkata to name a few. Both the western and the eastern coasts of India, which span respectively from the Indus delta to Kanyākumārī and from the Gaṅgā-Brahmaputra-Meghnā delta to the Coromandel Coast along the Odisha and Andhra coast, were noted for numerous ports and port towns. Broach (Bharukachha) and Sopara in the west coast and Tāmraliptī and Pālur in the east coast were significant ports of India during the Mauryan period from where regular sailings were undertaken to the west and the east respectively. Each port was supervised by an officer who kept vigil on ships and ferries. Tolls were levied on traders, passengers and fishermen. Almost all ships and boats were owned by the kings.

Board of Admiralty : A Conspicuous Feature

The conspicuous maritime engagements of India under Chandragupta Maurya, (*c.* 322 BCE to *c.* 298 BCE) necessitated the creation of a Board of

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1. Mookerji, R.K., *Indian Shipping (A History of the Sea-Borne Trade and Maritime Activity of the Indians from the Earliest Times)*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi: 1999, p.100.

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Admiralty,[2] one of the six Boards of the War Office [Military Department] referred to by *Megāsthenes,* the Greek ambassador to the Mauryan court. It was the first real attempt to build up a royal navy of any magnitude.[3] The popularity and the development of national shipping perhaps necessitated for the creation of such a Board. This is corroborated by a reliable indigenous Sanskrit work, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya,[4] which gives details of shipping, navigation, ship-building, sea-borne trade and related administrative system in India of the Mauryan period.

Megāsthenes[5] mentions six divisions of the military department, with five members attributed to each. According to him "One division is appointed to cooperate with the admiral of the fleet..." which implies that navy or naval force was there. Megāsthenes further divides the people of India into seven castes (classes), of which the fourth caste consisted of handicraftsmen and retail-dealers which "included shipbuilders, and the sailors employed in the navigation of the rivers."[6] The admirals of the navy were appointed by the king in consultation with councilors of the state who advised the king and belonged to the seventh caste group as mentioned by Megāsthenes.[7]

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2. Smith, V.A., *The Early History of India (From 600 B.C. To The Muhammadan Conquest),* Oxford University Press, London, 1924, pp.132-133; R.S Sharma, *India's Ancient Past,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi:, 2005, p.172.
3. Chakravarty, P.C., 'Naval Warfare in Ancient India', *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. VI (1985, 1st Reprint), p.647.
4. Shamasastry, R., (tr.), Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra,* Raghuveer Printing Press, Mysore, 1956, pp.139-142; Shamasastry, R., *Kautiliya Arthasastram* (Sanskrit), Government Branch Press, Mysore, 1924, pp.126-128; Kangle, R.P., *The Kautilya Arthaśāstra,* Part-I (A Critical Edition With a Glossary), University of Bombay, Bombay; 1960, pp. 82-84; Rangarajan, L.N. (ed. & tr.), *The Arthashāstra* (Kautilya), Penguin Books, New Delhi, 1992, pp.312-315.
5. McCrindle J.W., *Ancient India as Described by Megāsthenes and Arrian,* Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2008 (Third Impression), p.88.
6. *Ibid,* pp. 216-217.
7. *Ibid,* pp.217-218.

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Nāvadhykṣa : Duties and Responsibilities

Kauṭilya refers to an officer called *nāvadhyakṣa*[8] (the superintendent of ships or Chief Controller of Shipping) who regulated trade through waters. This officer was entrusted with the duty of dealing with all matters related to navigation, including oceanic navigation and inland navigation in the rivers and lakes, natural or artificial.

नावध्यक्षः समुद्रसंयाननदीमुखतरप्रचारान् देवसरोविसरोनदीतरांश्च स्थानीयादिष्ववेक्षेत ।

(02.28.01)

The maritime trade of India under the Mauryas augmented to such a degree that various kinds of port taxes were levied and collected. Merchants had to pay the customary toll levied in the port towns. Villages on seashores or on the banks of rivers and lakes shall pay a fixed amount of tax (*klṛptam*). Fishermen shall give 1/6th of their haul as fees for fishing license (*naukāhāṭakam*). Passengers arriving on board the king's ship shall pay the

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8. Shamasastry, R. (tr.), *op.cit*, pp. 139-142; Kangle, R.P., *op.cit*, pp. 82-84; Shamasastry, R., *Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstram* (Sanskrit), Government Branch Press, Mysore, 1924, pp.126-128; Rangrajan, L.N., *op.cit*, pp.312-315; Sharma, A.K. (tr.), *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstram* Vol. I & II, Odisha Sahitya Academi, Bhubaneswar, 1984 (2nd edition), pp.343-350. The *Nāvadhyakṣa* seems to have been something like a modern port Commissioner, and his first duty was to see that all the dues of his port were paid, and no one evaded. In the words of L.N. Rangrajan, (p.312) "The Chief Controller of Shipping and Ferries shall be responsible for sea voyages, ferries at mouths of rivers, ferries over natural and artificial lakes, ferries across rivers and water transport in provincial headquarters and towns. He shall ensure the observance of the regulations laid down by Port and Harbour Commissioners regarding goods and navigation." He further mentions that "Big vessels [large boats or *mahānāva*] shall be used as ferries on large [perennial] rivers which are crossable throughout the year only by boats. There shall have a captain [*śāsaka*], a steersman [*niyāmaka*], a rope and hook handler and a bailer. Small boats shall be used as ferries on small [seasonal] rivers which need them [only] in the rainy season [which overflow during the rainy season]."

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requisite amount of sailing fees (*yātrāvetanam*). Those (who make use of the king's boats in) fishing out conch shells and pearls shall pay the requisite amount of hire (*naukāhāṭakam*) or they may make use of their own boats.

तद्वेलाकूलग्रामाः क्लृप्तं दद्युः ।
मत्स्यबन्धका नौकाहाटकं षड्भागं दद्युः ।
पत्तनानुवृत्तं शुल्कभागं वणिजो दद्युः, यात्रावेतनं राजनौभिः सम्पतन्तः ।
शङ्खमुक्ताग्राहिणो नौहाटकान् दद्युः, स्वनौभिर्वा तरेयुः ।

(02.28.02- 02.28.05)

Thus, one of the important duties of the *nāvadhyakṣa* was to ensure the collection of port dues. However, besides supervising the realisation and collection of all proper taxes and dues, the *nāvadhyakṣa* was entrusted with two other important responsibilities, such as the duty of enforcing harbour regulations and punishing persons violating them (harbour regulations), and miscreants that were dangerous to public peace.[9] Fording or crossing the river without permission was prohibited and when a person found fording or crossing a river outside the proper place and in unusual times was liable for punishment. When a person fords or crosses a river at the usual place and time but without permission was fined as per regulations.

पत्तनाध्यक्षनिबन्धं पण्यपत्तनचारित्रं नावध्यक्षः पालयेत् ।

(02.28.07)

अकालेऽतीर्थे च तरतः पूर्वः साहसदण्डः ।

काले तीर्थे चानिसृष्टतारिणः पादोनसप्तविंशतिपणस्तरात्ययः ।

(02.28.15- 02.28.16)

Besides, he was also bestowed with a number of other duties. He helped the ships, mariners and merchants in distress. He could exempt merchants from taxes when the merchandise was damaged or spoiled by water.[10]

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid*; According to Kauṭilya (Rangrajan, L.N., *op.cit*, p.313) "If a boat is lost through lack of seamen or equipment or because it was unseaworthy, the Chief

contd...

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पुरुषोपकरणहीनायामसत्कृतायां वा नावि विपन्नायां नावध्यक्षो नष्टं निवृष्टं वाभ्याभवेत् ।

(02.28.26)

मूढवाताहतां तां पितेवानुगृह्णीयात् ।

उदकप्राप्तं पण्यमशुल्कमर्धशुल्कं वा कुर्यात् ।

तथा निर्दिष्टाश्चैताः पण्यपत्तनयात्राकालेषु प्रेषयेत् ।

(02.28.08- 02.28.10)

In spite of aforementioned facts, S. Ritti[11] says that the navy does not appear to have been a regular part of the military establishment. Though Kauṭilya speaks of *nāvadhyakṣha*, he does not refer to the navy. However, according to the latest research, in all probability, during the Mauryan times the navy appears to have been streamlined.[12] V.A.Smith[13] remarks that the existence of elaborate regulations for the care and entertainment of foreigners (visitors, travellers and envoys) conclusively proves that the Mauryan Empire in the fourth/third century BCE was in constant intercourse with foreign states, and that large number of strangers visited the capital on business. The flourishing shipbuilding industry in India during the Mauryan period was,

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Controller shall pay compensation [to the victims] for the loss or damage''. The Chief Controller shall, like a father, rescue vessels that have strayed from their course or are buffeted by storms. He shall show concessions by exempting goods that have been damaged by water from payment of duty or by reducing the duty to half. The rescued vessels may be allowed to proceed to their original destinations when it is safe for them to do so.'' A. Ray, *Maritime India: Ports and Shipping*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1995 (Reissued), p.9.

11. Ritti, S., 'Navigation and Customs in *Arthaśāstra*', *Journal of Marine Archaeology*, Vol.2, July (1991), p.86.

12. Sarma, I.K., 'From Peddavegi to Poompuhar' in Nayak, B.U. and N.C. Ghosh (eds.), *New Trends in Indian Art and Archaeology* Vol. II, Aditya Prakashan, New Delhi, 1992, p.435.

13. Smith, V.A., *op. cit*, p. 125.

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however, in the hands of the state and was a monopoly of the Government. Megāsthenes[14] informs us that the ship-builders were salaried public servants and were not permitted to work for any private person. They worked only for the king from whom they received wages. Strabo, however, mentions that the ships constructed in the royal ship-yards were let out on hire, both to those who undertook voyages and to professional merchants.[15] Regarding the recovery of debts *Arthaśāstra* mentions that "Twenty *paṇas* per month per cent prevails among the sea traders (*sāmudrāṇām*)."[16] It also mentions that boats should be launched between the months of *āṣāḍha* (June-July) and *kārtika* (October-November).

सप्ताहवृत्तामाषाढीं कार्त्तिकीं चान्तरा तरः ।

(2.28.27)

Shipping and Shipbuilding

During the Mauryan age, ship-building in India became a regular and flourishing industry.[17] R.K. Mookerji[18] says, 'the stimulus to its development must have come from the demands of both river and ocean traffic'. A host of Greek writers like Megāsthenes, Arrian, Pliny, Diodorus, Curtius etc., throw welcome light on the ships of that period. Arrian informs us that Xathroian autonomous tribe, living on the Indus supplied Alexander, during the time of his return voyage, with thirty oared galleys and trading vessels which

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14. McCrindle, J.W., *op.cit*, pp. 84-85.

15. *Ibid*, p.85. 'The admiral of the fleet lets out ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandize.' Strabo, XV, 46; Quoted by Mookerji, R. K. *op.cit*, p.103. Kautilya (Rangrajan, L.N. *op.cit*, p.312) also mentions that "The king's vessels may be used for transporting freight and passengers on payment of charges [*naukāhāṭakam*] as laid down. Boats may be hired out to fishermen, pearl and conch fishers."

16. Shamasastry, R. *op.cit*, p.197.

17. Mookerji, R.K., *op.cit*, pp.100 &102.

18. *Ibid.*

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were built by them.[19] Pliny refers to an interesting description of shipping and navigation. He says "the sea between the island of Ceylon [Sri Lanka] and India is full of shallows not more than six paces in depth, but in some channels so deep that no anchors can find the bottom. For this reason ships are built with prows at each end, for turning about in channels of extreme narrowness."[20] This description reflects some techniques of ship-building in ancient India. Pliny mentions that some of the ships of this era weighed 3,000 amphorae or 75 tonnes.[21]

Classification of Ships

Kauṭilya,[22] on the basis of utility or nature of work, classified the boats and ships under four groups, i.e., (i) *potavaṇika* (commercial vessel), (ii) *svanāva* (private boats), (iii) *rājanau* (royal boat), and (iv) *himsrikā* (warships or pirate ships).

Potavaṇika or commercial fleet again was divided into *saṃyāti* (for merchandise) and *pravahana* (for passengers). *Saṃyātināva* was an ocean-going commercial vessel used specially for merchandise. However, during the time of emergency, the military supplies were also carried on in such vessels. It had to pay tolls at the harbours which it touched.

Pravahana was a sea-going vessel used for carrying passengers. It is mentioned in the commentary on the *Uttarādhyāyanasūtraṭikā* that the sea-going merchants or passengers crossed the ocean in *pravahanas.*[23] *Svanāva* (private boat) were ferry boats belonging to private persons. These boats were allowed to cross the river at all times and places. These boats have been called by P.C. Prasad as *svataranāni.*[24]

19. Majumdar, R.C., *The Classical Accounts of India*, Firma KLM Pvt. Ltd, Calcutta, 1981, p.75.
20. Quoted by Mookerji, R.K., *op. cit*, p.103.
21. McCrindle, J.W., *op. cit*, p.103. An *amphora* weighed about a fortieth of a ton.
22. Shamasastry, R., *op.cit*, pp.16,43, 58, 139-142, 202,
23. Quoted by Prasad, P.C., *op. cit*, p.129.
24. *Ibid*, p.130.

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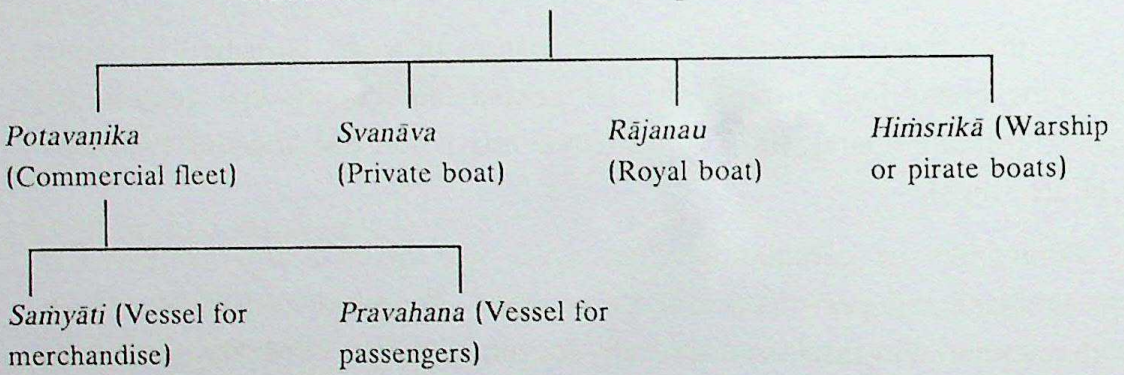
Rajanau or the royal boats were of two types, i.e., *svastika* and *saṁkhamuktāgrāhina*. *Svastika* was manned by trustworthy sailors. It had to be tagged on to another boat for the safety of the king.[25] *Saṁkhamuktāgrāhina* was also a royal boat. It was used for pearl fishing in various parts of the ocean. It was also let out to private individuals on payment of the necessary fee called *naukāhataka*. *Hiṁsṛika* was a warship of the naval force. According to size, the boats or ships were classified into two groups such as *mahānāva* and *kṣudrikā*.

Classification of Boats and Ships by Kauṭilya



From the above narration it can be inferred that the Mauryan period marked an epoch in the sphere of shipping and ship-building technology. The naval tradition which the Mauryans had built up was kept alive in some of the kingdoms like the Andhra or Sātavāhāna kingdom in the south, and the Kusāṇa kingdom in the north.

Maritime Enterprise Under Aśoka

The progressive naval activity and overseas interaction of Chandragupta Maurya continued unabated during the days of his son Bindusara and grandson Aśoka. The location of Aśokan Edicts in the coastal districts of Odisha- one at Dhauli, near Bhubaneswar in the Khordhā district and the other at Jaugada in the Gañjām district- established the maritime activities of ancient Odisha, at least of two ancient international ports, i.e *Che-li-ta-lo* (Māṇikpāṭṇā) and Pālur (Dantapura) on firm footing. *Che-li-ta-lo* and Pālur were geographically nearer to Dhauli and Jaugada respectively. According to tradition, a descendant of Aśoka is said to have embarked on a ship at Dantapura (Pālur) and being

25. Shamasastry, R., *op.cit*, p.43.

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shipwrecked, he stopped his voyage and settled on the coast of the Malay Peninsula.[26] One of the sculptures on the eastern gateway of No.1 *stūpa* at Sānchi represents a canoe made up of rough planks rudely sewn together by hemp or string. The representation, no doubt, is an ordinary river boat carrying in the centre an ascetic and is being propelled and steered by two men (Fig.1).The same eastern gateway has also representation of another boat (Fig. 2). On the western gateway of the Sānchi *stūpa* there is an interesting sculptured representation of a boat which represents "a piece of water, with a barge floating on it whose prow is formed by a winged gryphon (*śārdula*) with a beaked nose and stern by a fish's tail." The barge contains a pavilion overshadowing a vacant throne, over which a male attendant holds a *chattā*, while another man has a *chaori;* a third man is steering or propelling the vessel with a large paddle. In the water are fresh-water flowers and buds and a large shell; and there are five men floating about, holding on by spars and inflated skins, while a sixth appears to be asking the occupant of the stern of the vessel for help out of the water (Fig.3 and Fig. 3a).[27] R.K. Mookerji[28] says this sculpture appears simply to represent the royal state barge. Owing to the location of the cabin in the middle, it would fall under the *madhyamandira* type of vessels of the *Yuktikalpataru.*[29] Curiously enough, only one sailor is to be seen in this boat.

Aśoka, through the maritime enterprise of his people, brought India into the mainstream of international relations. During his reign, India maintained her overseas relationship with many foreign countries of both the West as well as the East Asia, especially through the efforts of merchants and missionaries.[30]

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26. Behera, K.S., 'Maritime Trade in Ancient Orissa', in Das, M.N. (ed.), *Sidelights on the History and Culture of Orissa*, Cuttack: Vidya Puri, 1977, p. 117.
27. Maisey, F.C., *Sānchi and Its Remains (A Full Description of the Ancient Buildings, Sculptures and Inscriptions)*, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1972, pp.58-59 and Plate. XXI. Fig.2.
28. Mookerji, R.K., *op. cit*, pp.33-34.
29. Ramachandran, K.S., 'Ancient Indian Maritime Ventures', in L.Chandra *et al* (eds.), *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee, Madras, 1970, p.75.
30. Mookerji, R.K., *op. cit*, p.113

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Aśoka's missionary zeal, and the dispatch of convoys from different ports, especially from Tāmraliptī by him for the spread and propagation of Buddhism seems to have indirectly contributed to the enhancement of the importance of ports and the development of maritime activities. In connection with this, V.A. Smith[31] is of the opinion that Aśoka must have had a sea going fleet for his dealings with Sri Lanka as well as other overseas countries. K.A.N.Sastri[32] also refers to the phenomenal development of industry as well as inland and foreign trade of India under the Mauryan rule. It is, thus, evident that the age of Mauryas witnessed an epoch of an extensive maritime activity that brought other nations closer to India and expanded India's trade along with culture and religious beliefs in overseas countries.

Motives Behind Asoka's Conquest of Kaliṅga

It is to mention here that Kaliṅga or ancient Odisha (Map 2) was under the suzerainty of the Nanda Empire during the time of Mahāpadmananda and Dhanananda, but when Chandragupta Maurya overthrew the Nanda rule, Kaliṅga threw off the yoke of the Magadha Empire and remained outside it, thriving as an independent and powerful state. She then appears to have organized her trade on a sound footing by vigorous maritime activities.[33] The people of Kaliṅga by that time had already established their colonies in Burma [Myanmar], one of which was Okkalaba at the Irrawaddy delta.[34] The rapid growth of the Magadhan Empire under Chandragupta Maurya, in extent and power, must have stimulated Kaliṅga to consolidate her newly earned political freedom and to prepare herself against any imperial aggression. Though Chandragupta Maurya included almost the whole of northern India, and some parts of South India within his empire, it is interesting to note that Kaliṅga was spared, perhaps due to her military might and political stature.

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31. Quoted by Chakravarti, P.C., *op. cit*, p. 649.

32. Sastri, K.A.N. (ed.), *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, Motilal Banarsidass Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1967 (Second Edition) [1996 Reprint], pp.259-274.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Phyre, A.P., *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1859), pp.473-76 (Quoted by Sahu, N.K., *Ibid*, p.238.

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Aśoka had inherited a vast empire from his grandfather and father but Kaliṅga (modern Odisha) was still not in his empire. Aśoka, who believed in the traditional policy of conquest, aggression and aggrandizement, could not tolerate the existence of an independent-cum-powerful state like Kaliṅga on the borders of his empire. To satisfy his insatiable thirst he invaded Kaliṅga in *c.* 261 BCE. Kaliṅga, in fact, was the last territory to resist and challenge the growing imperialism of Magadha. In the words of N.K.Sahu,[35] the real strength of Kaliṅga that challenged the great Magadhan empire lies not only in her vast over-land empire extending from the Gaṅgā to the Godāvarī along the coastal tracts, and in her mighty elephant corps admired by Kauṭilya and Diodorus as the best of their types in India, but also in the fact that she "had built up a great overseas empire and spread her colonies as far as the Philippine islands in the east and far south into the islands of the Indian Archipelago."[36] Kaliṅga was connected by road with important ports and towns of both southern and western India. She controlled the routes to South India both by land and sea. Hence, for strategic location and maritime importance of Kaliṅga, it became imperative on the part of Aśoka to conquer and annex it. It is, however, believed that one of the basic reasons that motivated Aśoka to conquer Kaliṅga was to gain control over her vast sea coast with rich ports for the expansion of maritime activities of the Magadhan Empire. As such, Magadha in the eastern direction was land locked and had no access to the sea or to the Southeast Asian trade. The people of Kaliṅga offered a stubborn resistance to the aggression of Aśoka, but unfortunately were defeated, and Kaliṅga became a province of the Mauryan Empire (the fifth province with its headquarters at Toṣāli, near modern Bhubaneswar identified with Śiśupālagarh). However, the resistance which the people of Kaliṅga offered to the aggression of Aśoka proves that Kaliṅga had the potentiality to be a challenging power. The very location of the Aśokan Edicts at Jaugada in the Gañjām district of modern Odisha, a place far away from the actual scene of the war i.e. Dhauli, is an indication of its association with the port of Pālur, a well known ancient port of Kaliṅga. As a matter of fact, it is argued

35. Sahu, N.K., 'Orissa from the Earliest Times to the Present Day', in Sahu, N.K. (ed.), *A History of Orissa*, New Age Publications, Cuttack, 2005, p.351.

36. Banerji, R.D., *A History of Orissa (From the Earliest Times to the British Period)*, New Age Publications, Cuttack:, 2006 (New Print), p.53.

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that the locations of Aśokan Edicts at strategic points like Jaugada in Kaliṅga (modern Odisha), Amarāvati in Andhra Pradesh and Girnar in Gujarat indicate their commercial importance associated with maritime trade.[37] Further, it was Aśoka's missionary zeal and use of sea-ports on the coast of Kaliṅga for the dispatch of missions abroad for the spread and propagation of Buddhism that might have indirectly contributed to the enhancement of the status of the ports and the development of maritime activities.

Catalyse for Kaliṅgan Maritime Activities

It has sometimes become a matter of debate that what were the reasons that inspired and tempted the people of Kaliṅga to prefer the maritime trade. Trade and consequent profit was perhaps the major driving force which inspired the people of Kaliṅga to sail along and across the seas. Spirit of adventurism to explore the countries across the ocean can be considered another factor. The desire for the establishment of political power and colonies in Sri Lanka and other Southeast Asian countries was also a motivating factor. Being the coastal people, natural instincts arose among them to have sea trade. Along with suitable geographical position, the favourable seas, monsoon winds, sea currents and water movements also played a key role in the maritime activities of the people of Kaliṅga. Enthusiastic missionary zeal and the missionary activities of the people of Kaliṅga as a part of their maritime activities cannot be altogether ruled out. It was the missionary dispatch of Aśoka under his son Mahendra and daughter Saṅghamitrā that proved to be more influential and effective for the spread of civilization and culture in Sri Lanka. Some even assign the maritime activities of Kaliṅga as a matter of compulsion rather than interest while others attributed such activities as being the consequence to the Kaliṅga war of Aśoka (c. 261 BCE) or an exodus.

In connection with the maritime trade, some subsidiary factors are also to be mentioned. Firstly, the journey by sea was comparatively easy . The danger of the land routes must have been comparatively more intensive than those of the water-routes. Secondly, the time required for travel by sea routes might have been lesser than the time required by travel through land routes. Thirdly, the abundant availability of exporting materials encouraged the overseas trade of the Kaliṅgans. In addition to this, the adventurous

37. Ray, H.P., 'Early Trade in the Bay of Bengal', *Indian Historical Review* (*ICHR*) Vol. XIV, No.1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988 (1987-88), p.79.

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spirit of the sailors and existence of suitable sea-ports greatly encouraged the navigational activities of Kaliṅga. Further, the development of coastal settlements, urban centres, ports and port-towns and in a word 'urbanisation' was another stimulating factor for the overseas enterprise of Kaliṅga. It is said that the pressure of the population, which sometimes led to the migration of people to foreign lands, was another probable reason to supplement such activities. However, all these assertions are subject to further research, inquiry and investigation.

The Mauryan Empire had maritime contacts with Sri Lanka, Burma, Malaysia and Indonesian islands from the east coast of India, particularly from the Kaliṅgan coast. The east coast had brisk contact with Sri Lanka. Megāsthenes refers to Sri Lanka as Taprobane. He says that "Taprobane is separated from the mainland by a river; that the inhabitants are called Palaiogonoi, and that their country is more productive of gold and large pearls than India."[38] Mauryan relations with Sri Lanka were very close.

Trade Routes, Monsoon Winds, Water Movement and Sea Currents

The sailors, in those days, in absence of advanced technology, preferred to sail along the coast. In using the coastal route, they had to depend on many factors such as the timing of the journey, the direction of the monsoon winds or 'trade winds', the movement of the water, sea currents, waves and tides etc. They, however, were moved with the help of sails. There were mainly two routes from the Kaliṅgan coast to Sri Lanka and the countries of Southeast Asia. Tāmraliptī and Pālur were two important ports on its coast. From Tāmraliptī, the sailors and merchants sailing southwards along the coast proceeded to Sri Lanka, while others sailing north-east, along the coast of Bengal, Burma and Arakan went to Cambodia and Malaysia. There is no reference to the direct sea route from the Kaliṅgan coast to the countries of Southeast Asia during the Mauryan period. Ptolemy, the Greek sailor-geographer (*c.* 2nd century CE), for the first time refers to a direct sea route, across the Bay of Bengal, from Kaliṅgan port Pālur to Malaysia.[39] The sailors

38. McCrindle, J.W. *op.cit*, pp.60-61.

39. Gerini, G.E., *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia (Further India and Indo-Malay Archipelago)*, Oriental Books Reprint Corporations, New Delhi, 1974 (Second Edition), pp. 47 and 743.

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in case of the southern journey or journey towards Sri Lanka were taking the help of the north-east monsoon winds which used to blow from October to December and the sailors, who were moving towards the north-east to reach the destination of Burma (Myanmar) and the Malay peninsula, were taking the help of the south-west monsoon which used to blow from June to September. The sailors and navigators of the Mauryan period were solely dependent on the movements and locations of stars and celestial bodies in the dark night and the shore sighting tamed birds during the day time. Emperor Aśoka's daughter Saṅghamitrā and son Mahendra, who sailed from the Tāmraliptī port to Sri Lanka to initiate the Sri Lankan king Devanāmpiya Tissā and his chief queen Annula into Buddhism and to propagate and spread the teachings of the Buddha there, followed the southern route while Sona and Uttara, the two Buddhist monks who went to Burma for the propagation of Buddhism might have sailed from the port of Tāmraliptī in the north-eastern direction along the Bengal coast. Fa-Hien, the Chinese pilgrim started his voyage from Tāmraliptī to Sri Lanka in the month of October 411 CE.[40] The sailors of the Mauryan India, as in other periods, proceeded from Sri Lanka to the islands of Southeast Asia.

Merchandise : Exports and Imports

Though we have no detailed evidence, it is certain that many items were included in the export and import activities of the maritime traders of the Mauryan period. It can safely be said that India in those days was so rich that it could export various commodities after satisfying the domestic needs. The traders must have carried commodities of great value in small weight rather than bulky goods. India seems to have exported precious stones, ivory, pepper, betel-nuts, drugs, perfumes, aloes, white conch shells, iron objects, earthen potteries, silk, fine textile products, spices and exotic food and imported pearl, silver, copper etc. On the basis of above analysis, to conclude, we can say that during the Mauryan period, the maritime trade and overseas activities of India were prosperous and flourishing which contributed substantially to the enrichment and consolidation of the Mauryan Empire.

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40. Sarkar, H.B., 'Fa-Hien's Itinerary from Tāmraliptī to China', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLVII, Part-I, April, 1969, p.3.

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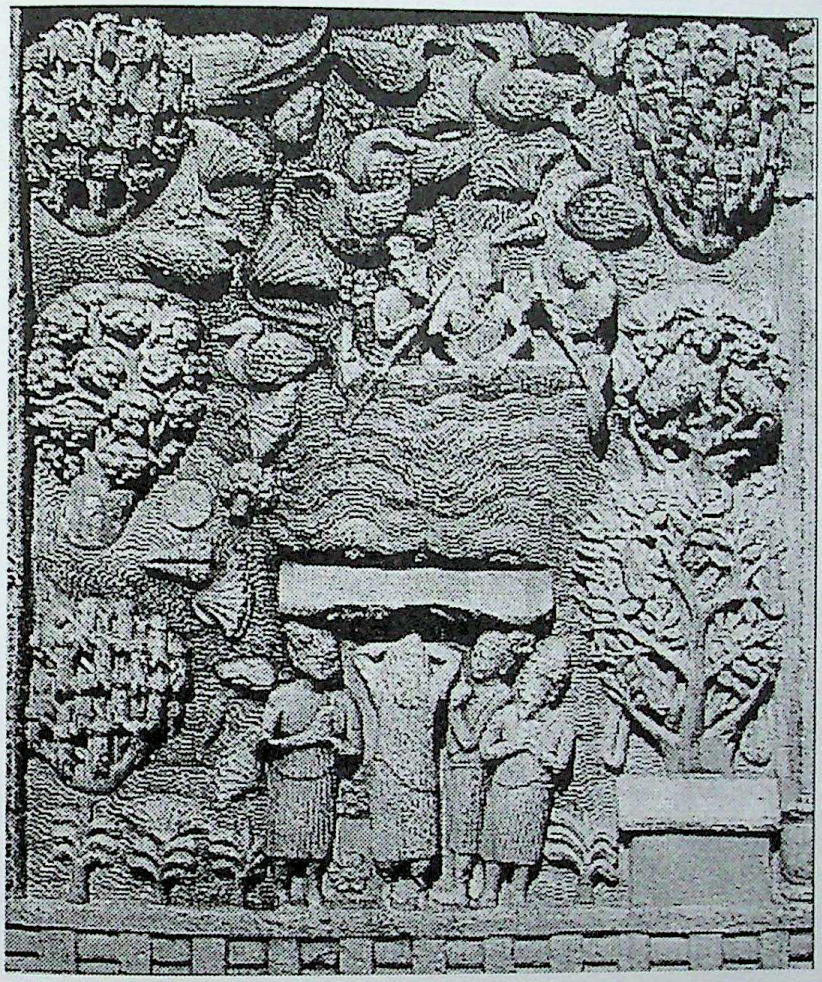

Fig.1: An Ordinary river boat, Eastern Gateway of No.1 Stūpa at Sānchi

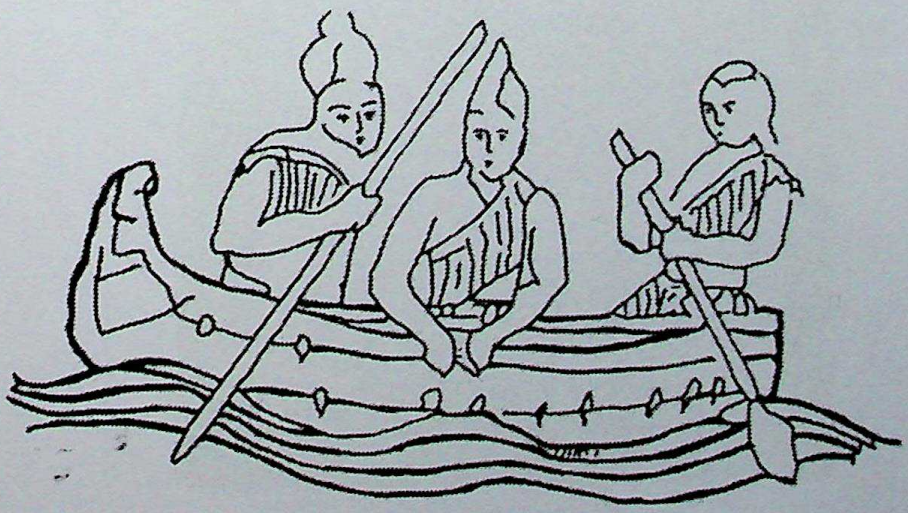

Fig.1a: An Ordinary river boat (sketch), Eastern Gateway of No.1 Stūpa at Sānchi

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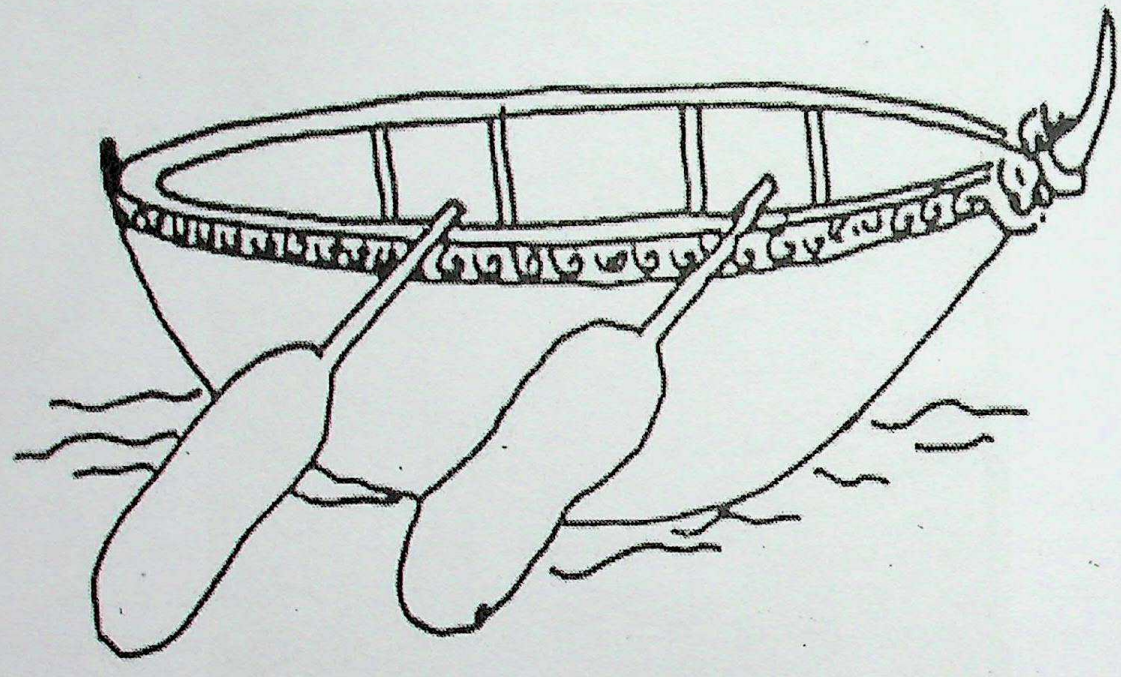

Fig.2: A boat in the Eastern Gateway of Sānchi Stūpa

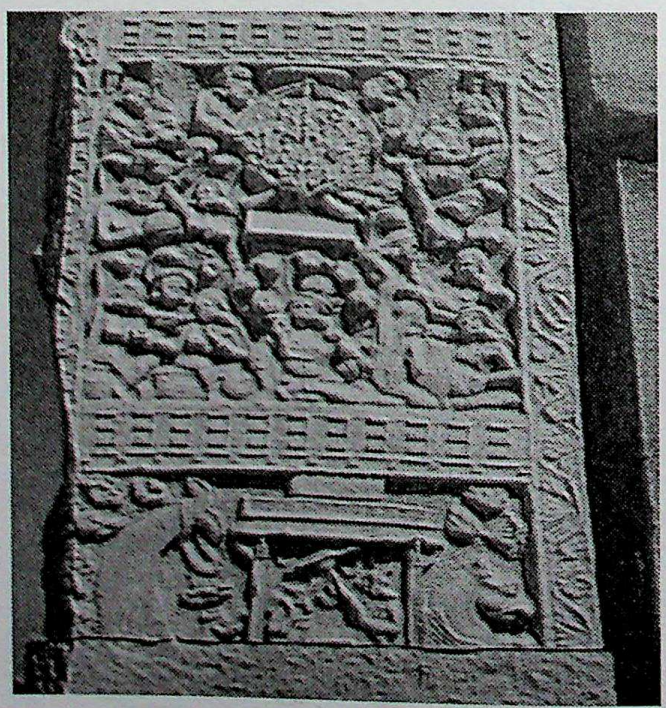

Fig.3: A boat in the Western Gateway of Sānchi Stūpa

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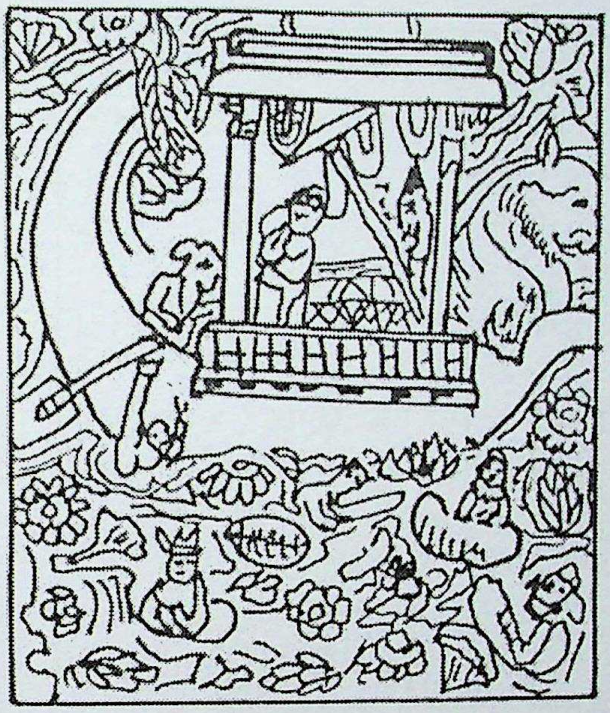
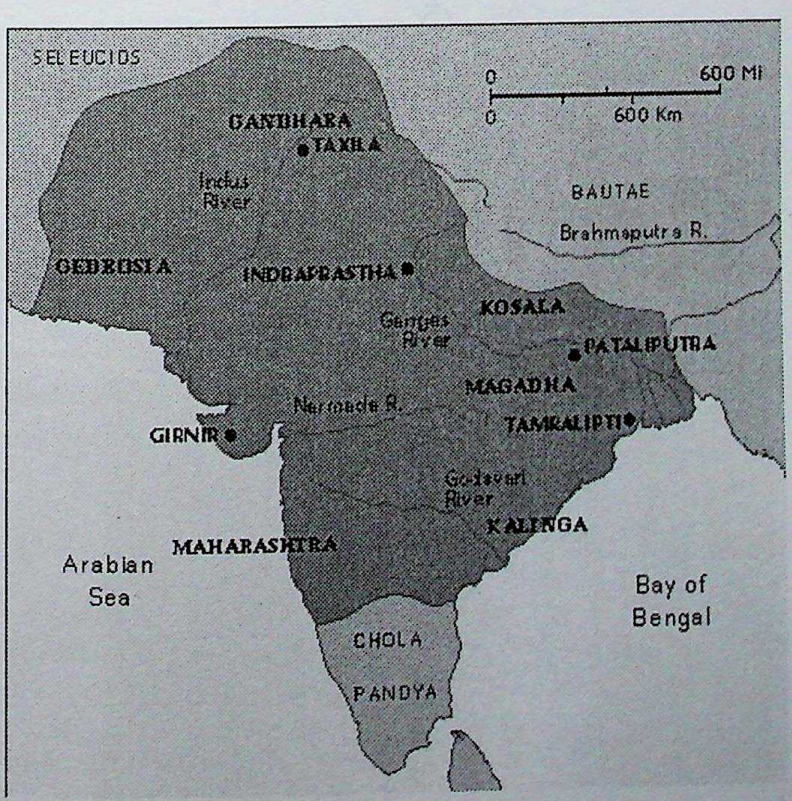


Fig.3a: A boat (sketch) in the Western Gateway of Sānchi Stūpa



Map 1: Extent of the Maurya Empire during the time of Aśoka

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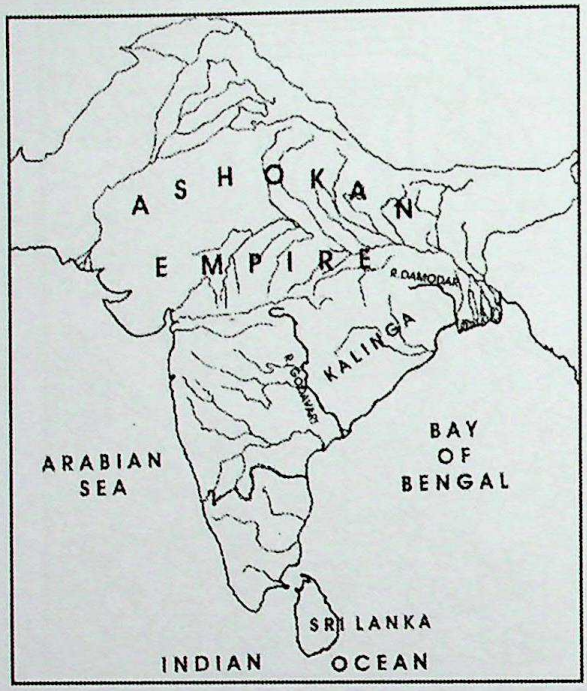
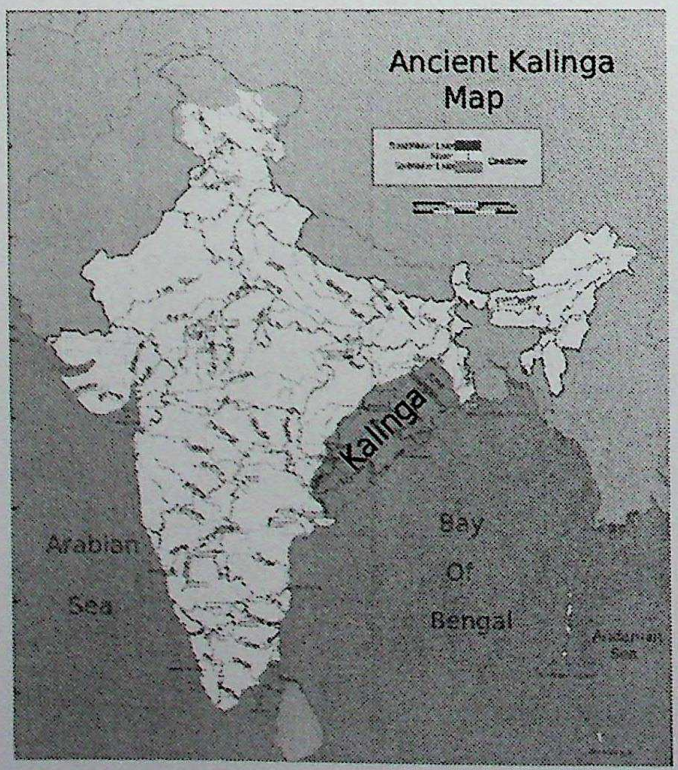


Map 1a: Extent of the Maurya Empire during the time of Aśoka



Map 2: Location of Kaliṅga or ancient Odisha in the map of India

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EKĀDAŚĪ - A REMARKABLE COMPILATION OF SANSKRIT SHORT STORIES*

Nina Bhavnagari+

The later half of the 19th century brought an age of innovation in creative modern Sanskrit Literature. It was the dawn of Sanskrit Journalism. When prominent editors and creative writers of Sanskrit periodicals tried their hand meritoriously on modern forms of Sanskrit prose and poetry with the advent of western Literature and criticism, they also inspired emerging creative writers to make new experiments. Various forms in Sanskrit prose like novels, short stories, anecdotes, jokes, stories of wit and humour for children, essays, letters and travelogue were being tried upon. Even diary form emerged in novels as a narrative technique. Talented creative writers fruitfully executed the great potentiality in our *devavāṇī* for the treatment of contemporary socio-cultural themes and issues. Thus Sanskrit journalism blew fresh air in traditional Sanskrit fiction which already had a long rich tradition of *kathāsāhitya* like *Pañcatantra, Hitopadeśa, Vetālapañcaviṁśatī* and such other popular stories. Ratna Basu rightly remarks:

"....Short stories in modern Sanskrit Literature are making their way through several socio-cultural and aesthetic value-orientation"[1]

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* Ichharama Dwivedi, *Ekadaśī* (Sanskrit *Kathāguchha*), Nag Publishers, Delhi, (first edition)1995.

+ 802, Forum Park Co-operative Housing Society, Nr. Ashok Nagar, Athwalines, Surat-395001, Mobile: 9825411175

1. Raghunathacarya S. B., vide her article - Modern Sanskrit Short Stories in '*Modern Sanskrit Literature: tradition and innovation*', Pub. Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, 2009, p.176.

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Dr. Ratna has substantiated her statement with a number of illustrations from renowned Sanskrit story-writers like Pt. Kshma Rao, Keshavachandra Dash, Rajendra Mishra, Radhavallabh Tripathi and many others. Kalanath Shastri divides this creative period in fiction into three ages namely Appashastri (1890-1930), Mathuranath Shastri (1930-1960) and Raghavan (1960-1980)[2]. During these ages, there came a revolutionary development in Sanskrit prose. New narrative techniques, fresh Sanskrit diction and prose-style were adopted to suit current themes in fiction. Hṛṣikeśa Bhaṭṭacārya, editor of *Vidyodaya*, Kṛṣṇācārya, editor of *Sahṛdaya*, Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya, editor of *Mitragoṣṭhi* and others have been considered among the best of creative Sanskrit prose-writers apart from the names mentioned before. There came multi-dimensions in theme, milieu, emotions, characters etc. in addition to modern formalistic point of view in short stories. Thus modern short-story writer in Sanskrit treats nationalism, social service, education, politics, communalism, poverty, exploitation, feminism, corruption, world-peace, social evils, slum-mentality after urbanisation as themes in his creations.

Ekādaśī a compilation of eleven short stories by Ichharama Dwivedi - *Praṇava*, is remarkable in this perspective. We can say that Sanskrit short story moves a step ahead in the hands of this story-writer. He has adopted socio-cultural theme, and like short stories in vernacular languages, he brings change in narrative technique, milieu, diction, emotions, characters and style according to current social life. Before we analyse these stories critically, we should take note of the aim and objective with which these stories are written. Dwivediji points out in the preface (named *naivedyam*) of this collection that these stories are created not for self-satisfaction or not only for giving aesthetic pleasure to the reader, but he wants to make Sanskrit a popular language through treating contemporary theme and issues in fresh usage of the language. This effort is a part of campaign to introduce a simple, popular form of sanskrit language to common public. Dwivediji writes in the preface:

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2. *Ādhunikakālakā Sanskrit Gadhyasāhitya* (Hindi), Pub. Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi, 1995, p.xi.

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इमाः कथाः साधारणसंस्कृतज्ञानां राष्ट्रभाषिणां च कृते लिखितानि । न तु विदुषां कृते इति । तर्हि नास्ति मम मतौ काऽपि कुण्ठा । यतो हि साम्प्रतिके भारते संस्कृतप्रसारप्रचारकर्मनिरतानां केषाञ्चित्महापुरुषाणां सत्प्रयासैः विंशशताब्द्यां संस्कृतस्य लोकभाषास्वरूपं संस्थापयितुं यदपि कर्म-आन्दोलनं वा प्रचलति तत्र तेषां सहयोगित्वेन.....।[3]

The writer selects current themes and issues for the stories. It has, however done by his predecessors but the Sanskrit language Dwivediji adopts is simpler, easier with a modern touch of vernacular or English language-usages. His style is lucid, free from verbosity and rhetorics unlike compounded prose-style of the ancients. He has, of course, proved his command over Sanskrit vocabulary in previous poetry works but in these short-stories, the ideal of Sanskrit prose offered by Daṇḍin - ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम् । is left behind.

Modern short-story critics might remark that the stories in *Ekādaśī* have temporal typical significance in view of their themes but we shall see that atleast half the number of these stories prove their literary merit and current relevance even from critical formalistic point of view.

Let us first analyse the stories from thematic point of view. The variety offered here is eye-catching. Three of these eleven stories are based on love-theme and all are tragic. Their titles are quite suggestive, *viz., Vicikitsā* (an *upaniṣadic* term), *Advaitavimarśaḥ* (a term borrowed from *Vedāntic Philosophy*) and *Pañjaraśukaḥ* (a symbol of social inhibitions). In *Vicikitsā* the author picturizes confusion and perplexed mental state of a despaired lover who quite unexpectedly encounters his beloved in bridal costume for her own marriage ceremony for which the hero-lover is supposed to play the role of a priest! Almost frenzied, Vidhuśekhara, the protagonist stands dumb-struck unable to decide what to do in this odd situation. No *guru* or no *upaniṣadic* priest can guide him in such mental confusion - *Vicikitsā*. He never has been trained before ! The end of the story - the decision of the hero is left to the reader's imagination. *Advaitavimarśaḥ* is another pathetic saga of a dedicated lover. He is victimized by social odds like casteism and isolated from his beloved. He happens to meet her after years when she is married to

3. Ichharama Dwivedi, *Ekādasi, op.cit.*, p.i.

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a poor drunkard. During their travel in the train, circumstance ironically take such a turn, that the poor lover is alleged of her husband's murder, which actually was an accident. The poor fellow embraces death-sentence for the sake of his beloved, already dead and leaves all his belongings for her young child. Thus dedication and true bond of love emerges as *Advaita* non-duality in this love-story. As Bhavabhūti has stated non-duality in miseries and merriments of the couple itself is *Advaita*[4]. The story is remarkable in view of its narrative technique also. It is told by a retired judge to his friends, as a part of his experiences in his judiciary career. Since this case was handled during his career, the narration of the story creates conviction and offers a realistic touch to the story, such technique is new in Sanskrit short stories. *Pañjaraśukaḥ* is another tragic love-story of a renowned *Bhāgavatācārya* who has lost his love in his younger days and happens to face his beloved during one of his *Bhāgavata*-recitations. She faints to listen to the beautiful story of love between Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa being narrated by her past lover, who is helpless in the situation. The priest's despair and tumult is touchingly depicted in the story. The technique of side-plot i.e. story within the story is effective strange and cruel are the ways of this world which even a sensitive and compassionate human-being. Śuka(*deva*) the narrator of *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* himself is imprisoned like a parrot in a cage ! The title is thus suggestive. The story-writer aims at delineating a vivid, heart-moving picture of emotions in the characters in all these love-stories.

The rest of the stories in this collection depict current social issues. *Paścātāpaḥ* is a piercing satire on our absurd almost blind judiciary system. Even the most efficient, well-versed and sensible judge is compelled to pass his accord within the boundaries of senseless, circumstantial evidences and witnesses, though he himself is convinced of the actual truth. The innocent is sentenced and the criminal is set free! The story narrates a sense of guilt felt by such a judge who has passed an unjustified accord depending upon such circumstantial evidences. The end, however, seems somewhat unconvincing where the judge's wife counsels him that he should defend the innocent

4. अद्वैतं सुखदुःखयोरनुगुणं सर्वास्ववस्थासु य-
द्विश्रामो हृदयस्य यत्र जरसा यस्मिन्नहार्यो रसः । उत्तररामचरित -१ ।३९॥

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victim in higher court as a pleader! The temptation to present the wife as an ideal wife spoils the total impact of the story which otherwise contains potentiality thematically. *Duścakram* is another loose attempt to picturize contemporary scenario in politics and elections. A simple, young, idealistic teacher is eager to bring reform in society and unfortunately he is trapped in a vicious circle of party-politics. Ultimately he escapes from the challenge! That is the destiny of an idealistic citizen in this country ! The narration fails to take a form of artistic short-story. *Nirṇayaḥ* is the title of another such incident described on the problem of dowry. The accidental solution of love-marriage is offered artificially. *Āndolanam* is thus a loose description of a personal loss as the result of strikes, processions, demonstrations and *bandh*, the so-called weapons of showing public protest against injustice. The melodramatic end of the event in madness of a union-leader fails to convey the message artistically.

Dwivediji, himself is a teacher, and therefore, he is well-informed about the loopholes, corruption, lethargy, insincerity and hollowness in our education-system. In *Nirīkṣaṇam*, he gives the long report of an inspection in a particular institution. Inefficient head-master, idle teachers, carefree students, corrupted clerks, covetous peons- all play a game named education ! Here, however, the satire has a sharp edge ! *Ayam-aham Bhoho Bhavantaḥ Kidṛśāhā* is another story which reads like a dramatic picture of a middle-class man in modern society who shirks from his moral duties. A series of incidents in his daily routine is narrated loosely, without any shape of a story. *Kutilatarpaṇam* is also a long monotonous account of treacherous, malicious tactics and dodges executed in government offices to serve selfish purposes with wasted interests. Unnecessary load of details is weighing upon all these stories which mar the academic and literary merit of the themes. Potentiality in this variety of themes is wasted due to temptation of descriptions and details. Nothing is left to the reader's imagination. Brevity, economy and suggestion- all these basic conditions for a short-story are not fulfilled in these stories.

But as a connoisseurs, one is fully satisfied with the last story in this collection. *Ekādaśi* is the best among all the stories of Dwivediji, which suitably

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is the nomenclature of this collection. The title of this story is suggestive in many ways. *Ekādaśī* is a pious day when we observe *vrata* and cultivate self-control on our senses. This pious day brings a turning point in the life of a poor woman Sumitra. She is exploited by her mistress through over-burden in household work in this auspicious day. The master who ritually observes fast on the day wants to exploit her sexually in compensation of advance-money he offers for the treatment of her sick child. Sumitra is inspired by *mākhaṇacora* Kṛṣṇa. She takes a firm decision with moral courage to run away from the city on the very night with the help of advance-money ! A new fresh interpretation of moral values emerges from this well-knit artistic story. Thus *Ekādaśī* becomes symbolic of so many things. The master observes *vrata* but his interests are malicious ! The title suggests this irony. The mistress is not ready to allow her maid to go earlier even in serious illness of her child ! Sumitra who does not know rites and rituals, decides to protect her character and believes that even Kṛṣṇa has stolen butter ! She is not at all at fault to use advance-money for her own moral values ! The story is the eleventh in number in the collection and that is the number of stories in this compilation. The day brings new enlightenment in Sumitra's life. The writer shows how a down-trodden woman observes morality in our society. In a way it is a satire on our so-called religious elite class. An event, a single key-moment in the life of the central character, other sub-characters, dialogues, description, milieu, language, style, emotions- all the components of this short-story are so beautifully inter-woven that we say 'hats-off' to our writer. Commitment and artistic merit are well-blended to make this the best story coming from the pen of Dwivediji.

Thematic variety blows fresh air in stagnant ambience of Sanskrit fiction. The language employed here is fresh and suited to the current theme with new coined words, maxims, loan-words and translated usages. The prose-style is enriched with maxims, brief descriptions, dramatic dialogues etc. The writer consciously avoids poetry. The modern reader is amused with words like *Trikatam* (ticket), *Tricakrikā* (rixa), *Maruttara-yānaṃ* (motor-car), *Railastheṣaṇa* (railway-station), *Basayānastheṣaṇa* (bus-station) and so on. The stories fulfill the purpose of making Sanskrit popular. These stories have

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emerged from our day-to-day life. Some of them, of course, loudly play the tune of social reform and revolution and sometimes we are bored with verbous descriptions and lengthy details where the writer cannot come out of traditional prose. Yet, at least, half of these eleven short-stories attain merital status *viz. Vicikitsā, Advaitavimarśaḥ, Pañjaraśukaḥ, Ekādaśī, Paścātāpaḥ* etc. They are well-knit, suggestive, touching and can claim literary value with their formalistic perfection. *Ekādaśī* is remarkable for the key-moment depicted and woven-around with all the components of a short-story. *Advaitavimarśaḥ* is note-worthy for its narrative technique. *Vicikitsā* leaves the reader in amazement with its unexpected open end.

It can be said that Dwivediji has successfully tried to give a turn to Sanskrit short-story, as a literary form. We can enjoy a beautiful fusion of social commitment and artistic skill in some of his stories. He has proved that Sanskrit diction can be effectively employed in modern set-up, for the treatment of socio-cultural theme. Dwivediji has already proved his creative art in Sanskrit poetry before. Here he passes through the test - *gadhyam kavīnām Nikaṣam Vadanti* in bright colours. This collection is a reply to fiction-critics who remark that modern Sanskrit short-story still has to attain its marital status.

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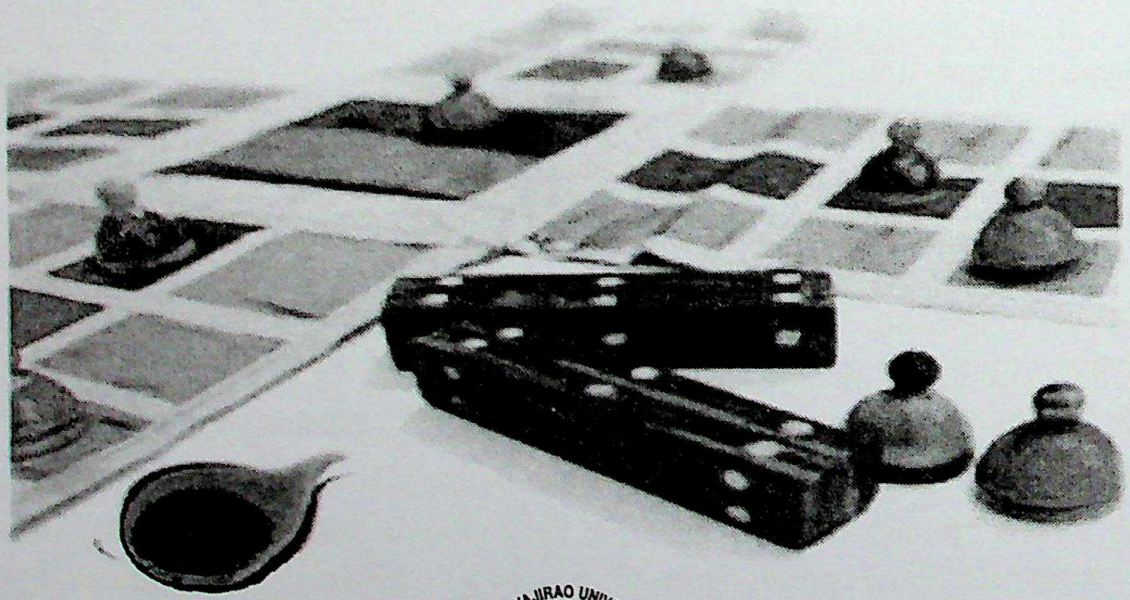
શ્રી સયાજી સાહિત્યમાળા, પુષ્પ ૩૮૧

મહાભારતનાં ગૂઢ રહસ્યો

મૂળલેખક
ગ. વા. કવીશ્વર

અનુવાદ
વિજયા લેલે



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साधुभद्रेशदासविरचितप्रस्थानत्रयीस्वामिनारायणभाष्यम् - सङ्क्षिप्तपरिचयः

महामहोपाध्यायः एन्. एस्. रामानुजताताचार्यः*

प्रस्थानत्रयी

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाऽऽख्येषु चतुर्विधेषु पुरुषार्थेषु मोक्षस्यैव प्राधान्यमिति सर्वेषां समादरः । स च पुनः परमात्म-परमोपासनलक्षणब्रह्मविद्यालक्ष्य इति तत्स्वरूपसाधनादिविशेषाश्च वेदान्ते प्रतिपाद्यन्ते इति निखिलवेदान्तिनां सम्प्रतिपन्नम् । प्रस्थाप्यते ब्रह्मविद्याऽनयाऽस्मिन् वेति प्रस्थानम् । त्रयाणां प्रस्थानानां समूहः प्रस्थानत्रयी । भारतीयवेदान्तपरम्परासु प्रस्थानत्रयी निखिलवेदान्ताऽनुयायिभिः समानाऽऽदरेण प्रमाणभूमौ प्रस्थापिता । उपनिषदो भगवद्गीता तथा च ब्रह्मसूत्राणीति शास्त्रत्रयसमुच्चयः प्रस्थानत्रयीति नाम्ना प्रख्यातिमाप्नोत् ।

वेदान्ते ह्युपनिषदो मूर्धन्यप्रमाणम् । उप तथा च नि इत्युपसर्गद्वयपूर्वकात् सद्लृधातोश्च निष्पन्न उपनिषच्छब्दः । ''उपनिषद्यते प्राप्यते ज्ञायते ब्रह्मविद्याऽनयेत्युपनिषदिति तदर्थः''। ताश्चर्गादिवेदसमाहिताः शताऽधिका अपि ईशादयो दश भूरि प्रसिद्धिमागताः । ''ईशकेनकठप्रश्नमुण्डमाण्डूक्यतित्तिरिः । ऐतरेयं च छान्दोग्यं बृहदारण्यकं दश ॥'' इति च तत्सङ्ग्रहः । तास्वेतासु ब्रह्मविद्यैव प्रधानप्रतिपाद्यविषयः । एता उपनिषद एव प्रस्थानत्रय्यन्यतमाः श्रुतिप्रस्थानमिति सङ्कीर्तिताः ।

द्वितीयं प्रस्थानं श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता । सा च महाभारतग्रन्थाऽन्तर्गतभीष्मपर्वस्थिताऽष्टादशाऽध्यायेषु विभक्ताः सप्तशतश्लोकान् बिभर्ति । प्रत्यध्यायाऽन्ते ''इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे...'' इति संस्मरणादियमपि साक्षादुपनिषत्तया ब्रह्मविद्यात्मकतया योगशास्त्रतया च प्रस्तुता । **''सर्वोपनिषदो गावो दोग्धा गोपालनन्दनः । पार्थो वत्सः सुधीर्भोक्ता दुग्धं गीताऽमृतं महद् ॥''** इति प्रसिद्धमेव तस्या उपनिषदुक्तब्रह्मविद्यात्मका-ऽमृतमयदुग्धरत्वम् । सा चेयं महाभारतान्तर्गततत्वादितिहास एव । तदस्यां पार्थपार्थसारथ्योश्च दिव्यसंवादो हि समरसमये समरभूमौ संञ्जातः सङ्ग्रथितो महाभारतकारेण । स्मृतिप्रस्थानमितीयं प्रसिद्धा ।

ब्रह्मसूत्राणि तृतीयं प्रस्थानम् । बादरायणेन रचितान्येतानि सूत्राणि । श्रुतिस्मृतिप्रतिपादितवेदान्तसिद्धान्ता-नामिह सप्रमाणं सयुक्तिकं च मीमांसाऽनुष्ठिता । वेदान्तवाक्यानां सत्यसमन्वयप्रकारः प्रदर्शितः । जगदुत्पत्तिविचारः सूत्रेषु निबद्धः । वेदान्तविरुद्धमतानि विमृष्टानि खण्डितान्यपि । मोक्षाऽनुकूलसाधनजातं प्रतिपादितम् । मोक्षस्वरूपमपि सन्दर्शितम् । इत्थं सहेतुकप्रस्थापनप्रवणतया प्रस्थानमिदं तर्कप्रस्थानमिति प्रसिद्धम् ।

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* Navi Mumbai, India

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भाष्यपरम्परा

भाष्यपरम्परा हि भारतवर्षेऽतीव प्राचीनकालतः प्रारब्धा । वेदवेदाङ्गादिप्राचीनशास्त्राणामुव्वटमहीधरसायण-स्कन्दस्वाम्यादिकृतभाष्याणि पाणिन्यादिकृतव्याकरणशास्त्रभाष्याणि रामायणादीतिहासशास्त्रभाष्याणि भागवतादिपुराण-शास्त्रभाष्याणि सांख्ययोगन्यायवैशेषिकादिषड्दर्शनसूत्रभाष्याणि च प्रणीतानि प्रसिद्धिमागतानि । सा चेयं भारतवर्षस्य प्रौढचिन्तनपरम्परायाः वैचारिकस्वतन्त्रतायाश्च महत्प्रमाणम् ।

तत्राऽपि विशेषतो वेदान्तशाखासु समये समये परिशीलनपुष्टा नूतनतत्त्वविचाराः प्रकाशमानीताः । यथा उपनिषदः श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता ब्रह्मसूत्राणि चेति प्रस्थानत्रयीमाधारीकृत्य शङ्कररामानुजमध्ववल्लभाद्याचार्यप्रवरा वेदान्तशास्त्रे कृतभूरिपरिश्रमा अद्वैतविशिष्टाद्वैतद्वैतशुद्धाद्वैताद्यात्मकानां स्वस्वसम्प्रदायाऽनुकूलानां दर्शनानां प्रतिपादकान् भाष्यग्रन्थान् निरमासिषुः ।

२१ तमशताब्देः अभिनवं भाष्यम्

अयमेव भारतवर्षस्य वैदिकसनातनधर्मस्य प्रौढचिन्तनपरम्पराया महिमा यत् प्राचीनतमाऽपि भाष्यप्रणयन-परम्पराऽद्याऽपि नवीनतमविचाराऽऽविष्कारवैभवेन तथैव समाजमुपकरोति यथा प्राक्काले उपचकार । साधुभद्रेशदासरचिताः उपनिषदः श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता ब्रह्मसूत्रं चेति कृत्स्नप्रस्थानत्रय्या स्वामिनारायणाऽऽख्यभाष्यग्रन्थास्तस्य प्रत्यक्षमुदा-हरणम् । साधुभद्रेशदासेन समग्रविश्वस्य कृते प्रदत्तोऽयं महान् अभिनवज्ञानरत्नसभरज्ञानमञ्जूषारूप उपहार एव । एतत्कार्यं मया न केवलं सम्प्रदायदृष्ट्वाऽवलोक्यतेऽपि तु वैदिकसनातनधर्मपरम्परायाः संस्कृतभाषासाहित्यस्य प्रौढ-वेदान्तवादपरम्परायाश्चेयं महती सेवेति भावनयाऽवलोक्यते । विद्वद्दृष्ट्या च निरीक्ष्यते । अत एव समुचितशास्त्रीयप्रणाल्या शास्त्रीयसंस्कृतभाषया च प्रणीतानामेतेषां भाष्यग्रन्थानामहं गौरवेणाऽभिवादनं करोमि मे स्नेहाऽऽशिषश्च निवेदयामि ।

स्वामिनारायणप्रबोधिताऽपूर्वसिद्धान्ताः

वेदान्तदर्शने शङ्कररामानुजमध्वादिप्रतिपादितेषु सिद्धान्तेषु क्वचित् केनचिदंशैः साधर्म्यसत्त्वेऽपि तत्त्वसंख्या तत्स्वरूपं मुक्तेर्लक्षणं तत्साधनमित्यादिविषयेषु वैशिष्ट्यदर्शनात् तैस्तैः विलक्षणसिद्धान्तैस्तत्तत्सम्प्रदायरूपेण स्वीयं विशिष्टं स्थानं जगति बिभ्रति । एवमेव स्वामिनारायणसम्प्रदायविषयेऽवगन्तव्यम् । इतः प्रायः २३० वर्षपूर्वं जगत्यस्मिन्नवतीर्णाः श्रीस्वामिनारायणभगवत्पादाः स्वीयान् वैदिकब्रह्मविद्याविषयकान् विचारान् सिद्धान्तरूपेण स्वाश्रितेभ्य उपदिदिशुः । तेषु च सिद्धान्तेषु तत्प्राग्भवसम्प्रदायाऽभ्युपगतसिद्धान्तैः क्वचित् केनचिदंशेन साम्यसत्त्वेऽपि प्रागुक्ततत्त्वसंख्यादिविषयेषु भूरिभेदप्रदर्शनात् सम्प्रदायोऽयं स्वविलक्षणतात्त्विकसिद्धान्तैः स्वीयं विशिष्टं स्थानं बिभर्त्येवेति तत्त्वजिज्ञासुभिरवश्यमवधेयम् ।

स्वामिनारायणेतिभाष्याऽभिधानतात्पर्यम्

यद्यपि श्रीस्वामिनारायणैः स्वयं कस्याऽप्युपनिषद्गीतादिशास्त्रस्य भाष्यव्याख्यानादिकं नैव प्रणीतमपि तु स्वीयोपदेशे तैर्वारं वारमनेकेषामुपनिषद्गीतादिशास्त्राणां वाक्यान्युद्धृत्य तेषामर्थाः स्वीयाऽवलोकनदृष्ट्या प्रदर्शिताः । ते चेमेऽर्थास्तत्प्राग्भवशङ्कररामानुजादितत्तत्सम्प्रदायप्रवर्तकाऽऽचार्यप्रतिपादिततत्तद्वाक्याऽर्थतो भिन्ना

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अत एवाऽपूर्वा नूतनाश्चाऽऽसन्नित्यस्य सम्प्रदायस्य स्वीयं विशिष्टं तत्त्वदर्शनमस्तीति जगति बहवो न विजानन्ति । तेषां चाऽपूर्वसिद्धान्तानां सम्यगालोडनपूर्वकं समग्रप्रस्थानत्रय्यादिग्रन्थराशेः पुनः स्वामिनारायणप्रेरित-विशिष्टदृष्ट्या परिशीलनमावश्यकमासीत् । ततश्च स्वसम्प्रदायवैशिष्ट्यप्रस्थापकानां नूतनभाष्यग्रन्थानां प्रणयनमनिवार्यम् । अत्राऽयं वेदान्तविदुषां महत आनन्दस्य विषयो यत् साधुभद्रेशदासैः स्वामिनारायणोपदिष्टाऽपूर्ववेदान्तसिद्धान्तप्रतिपादकान् उपनिषद्भगवद्गीताब्रह्मसूत्रेतिसम्पूर्णप्रस्थानत्रय्या भाष्यग्रन्थान् प्रणीय स्वामिनारायणप्रबोधितदर्शनस्य दर्शनाऽन्तरेभ्यो विलक्षणत्वं वैशिष्ट्यं च सर्वजनाऽऽलोकेऽवतारितम् । भाष्यकारैः स्वयमेव ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्याऽऽरम्भप्रसङ्गे स्वामिनारायणे-तिभाष्याऽभिधानतात्पर्यमुद्घाटितम् ''स्वामिनारायणेनेह सिद्धान्तो यः प्रकाशितः । तस्यैव सर्वथा सम्यगिहानुसरणं यतः ॥ यस्माच्च दिव्यमन्त्रोऽयं स्वामिनारायणेति यः । ब्रवीति ब्रह्मविद्यास्थौ ह्याक्षरपुरुषोत्तमौ ॥ तस्माद्धि संज्ञितं भाष्यं स्वामिनारायणाऽऽख्यया । प्रसीदतु सदा साक्षात्स्वामिनारायणो हरिः ॥'' (ब्र.सू.स्वा.भा.पत्र.सं.१) इति ।

तत्र च ये तदितराऽद्वैतविशिष्टाद्वैतादिदर्शनोक्तविलक्षणसिद्धान्ताः प्रस्थानत्रय्याः स्वामिनारायणाऽऽख्यभाष्य-ग्रन्थेषु प्रतिपादितास्तेषु द्वित्राः संक्षिप्येह प्रदर्श्यन्ते ।

कतिपया विशिष्टाः सिद्धान्ताः

तत्त्वगणना - तत्त्वपञ्चकम्

यथाऽद्वैतदर्शने ह्येकमेव ब्रह्मतत्त्वं परमार्थतोऽङ्गीकृतम् । तद्भिन्नस्य च मिथ्यात्वम् । यथा वा विशिष्टाद्वैतदर्शने चिदचिदीश्वरेति तत्त्वत्रयमभ्युपगतम् । तथा स्वामिनारायणदर्शने जीवः ईश्वरो माया अक्षरब्रह्म परब्रह्म चेति तत्त्वपञ्चकं नित्यं परस्परं भिन्नं परमार्थतोऽङ्गीकृतम् (के.उ.स्वा.भा.२/४) । तानि चेमानि पञ्च तत्त्वानि तत्र तत्र प्रस्थानत्रयी-स्वामिनारायणभाष्ये प्रतिपादितानि । पञ्चस्वप्येतेष्वक्षरब्रह्मपरब्रह्मेतिद्विविधब्रह्मप्रकाशनं स्वामिनारायणेतरवैदिकसम्प्रदा-यसिद्धान्तदृष्ट्याऽतीव विलक्षणमेवेति स विषय इह विदुषां विशेषविज्ञप्तये किञ्चिद्विस्तरेण विलिख्यते ।

उपनिषत्स्वामिनारायणभाष्ये ब्रह्मविद्यानिरूपणम् - अक्षरपुरुषोत्तमदर्शनम्

ब्रह्मद्वयसिद्धान्तो हि दर्शनस्यास्य प्रमुखं वैशिष्ट्यम् । ब्रह्मज्ञानविषये यथाऽद्वैतदर्शने एकमेव निर्गुणं निर्विशेषं च ब्रह्माङ्गीकृतं, यथा वा ब्रह्मशब्देन दिव्यगुणगणविशिष्टः पुरुषोत्तमोऽभिधीयते इति विशिष्टाद्वैतदर्शने प्रतिपादितं, तथा दर्शनेऽस्मिन् ब्रह्मशब्देन न केवलं परमात्मैवाऽपि तु अक्षरब्रह्म परब्रह्मेति दिव्यतत्त्वद्वयस्य स्वीकार इति प्रधानो भेदो दर्शनान्तरतः । इत्थं हि भगवत्स्वामिनारायणानामेतद्विषयकवाक्यानि ''अथ ब्रह्मज्ञानमार्ग इदं वेदितव्यं यद् ब्रह्म तु निर्विकारं निरंशं च वर्तते, नैव विकारं प्राप्नोति नैव चाऽपि भवन्ति तदंशाः । तदिदं ब्रह्म प्रकृतिपुरुषादि-सर्वेषामपि कारणमाधारश्चेति यद्भवेत् कारणमाधारश्च तत्तु नैव भवेत् कार्यात् पृथगित्यभिप्रायमुद्दिश्यैव शास्त्रेषु ब्रह्मणः सर्वरूपत्वमुच्यते, तदिदं ब्रह्म विकारं प्राप्य चराऽचरजीवरूपं भवतीति न च वाच्यम् । तस्माच्च ब्रह्मणः पृथगेव वर्तते परब्रह्मपुरुषोत्तमो नारायणः । स ब्रह्मणोऽपि कारणमाधारः प्रेरकश्चाऽस्ति । इत्येवं विज्ञाय स्वजीवात्मानं तेन ब्रह्मणा सहैकीकृत्य परब्रह्मणः स्वामिसेवकभावेनोपासनं कर्तव्यमित्येवंरूपेण ज्ञाते सति ब्रह्मज्ञानमपि परमपदप्राप्तौ निर्विघ्नः पन्था भवति (वच.ग.म.३)'' इति ।

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इदमत्र ध्यानाऽऽवहं यद् ब्रह्मद्वयस्वीकारेऽपि ते द्वे ब्रह्मणी न समाने । एकमक्षरब्रह्म तद्धि द्वितीयात् परब्रह्मणो न्यूनं तदधीनं च । परब्रह्म त्वक्षरब्रह्मणोऽपि परभूतं तन्नियमकं च । अक्षरब्रह्मणः परत्वादेव खलु परमात्मा परं ब्रह्मेति व्यपदिश्यत इति तदीयोपदेशभावः ।

अनेन हि ब्रह्मद्वयविचारेण स्वामिनारायणप्रबोधितब्रह्मविद्योपदेशः ''अक्षरपुरुषोत्तमदर्शनम्'' इति, ''अक्षरपुरुषोत्तमसिद्धान्तः'' इति वा प्रथितः ।

''येनाऽक्षरं पुरुषं वेद सत्यं प्रोवाच तां तत्त्वतो ब्रह्मविद्याम्'' (मुं. १/२/१३) इति मुण्डकोपनिच्छ्रुतिर्ब्रह्म-विद्यालक्षणतयेह प्रतिपादिता । तत्र च ''ह्यक्षरात् परतः परः'' (मु.२/१/२) इत्युत्तरवाक्याऽनुरोधेनाऽक्षरपदमिह परमात्मभिन्नं ब्रह्मतत्त्वं पुरुषपदं च परब्रह्मतत्त्वमभिधत्ते इति निर्णीय अक्षरब्रह्मपरब्रह्मेतिदिव्यतत्त्वद्वयाऽवबोधे कात्स्न्र्यं भजते ब्रह्मविद्येति फलितार्थो भाष्ये प्रतिपादितः । इत्थं हि तत्रत्यं भाष्यम् ''**येन** अध्यात्मविज्ञानेन ब्रह्मविद्ययेति यावद् **अक्षरं** तदक्षरमधिगम्यते (मु.१/१/५) इत्यादिनोपक्रान्तमद्रेश्यत्वादिदिव्यगुणगणजुष्टं ब्रह्माऽपरनामाऽक्षरतत्त्वं, **पुरुषं** पुरुषशब्दवाच्यं यत्राऽमृतः स पुरुषः (मु.१/२/११)'' इत्यादिनोक्तं, ''दिव्यो ह्यमूर्तः पुरुषः'' (मु.२/१/२) इत्यादौ च वक्ष्यमाणं पुरुषोत्तमतत्त्वं **सत्यं** यथावद् **वेद** जानीयात् तां तादृशीं श्रेयस्करीं **ब्रह्मविद्यां** ब्रह्मपरब्रह्मविषयिणीं परविद्यां तत्त्वतः तदुभयस्वरूपस्वभावादियथावन्निरूपणसभरतया सर्वाङ्गसम्पूर्णतया च **प्रोवाच** प्रब्रवीतीत्यर्थः'' इति ।

स चाऽयं ब्रह्मद्वयसिद्धान्तो दशस्वप्युपनिषत्सु सम्यक् प्रतिपादितः ।

यथेशावास्योपनिषदि ''ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वम्'' (ई.१) इति मन्त्रभाष्याऽवसरे प्राह ''**ईशे** ईष्टे प्रशास्ति नियमयति प्रकृतितत्कार्यादीतीट्, तेनेशा । ईशितृत्वशालिनेत्यर्थः । ईशितृत्वमिदमक्षरब्रह्मणः परब्रह्मणश्च वेदान्तसिद्धम् ।... अत ईशेत्यस्य सकलजगत्प्रशासकेनाऽक्षरब्रह्मणा परब्रह्मणा चेत्यर्थः'' (ई.उ.स्वा.भा.१) इति । श्रुत्यर्थश्चायं तत्र बहुभिरन्योपनिषत्सन्दर्भैः प्रमाणितोऽपि ।

केनोपनिषदि च ''ब्राह्मीं वाव त उपनिषदब्रूम'' (के.४/७) इति मन्त्रभाष्ये ब्राह्मीमितिशब्दो ब्रह्मद्वयवाचकतया भाषितः । तदुक्तं भाष्ये ''**ब्राह्मीम्** अक्षरब्रह्मपरब्रह्मसिद्धान्तरूपां ब्रह्मविद्यात्मिकाम् **उपनिषदं वाव** एव **ते** तुभ्यम् **अब्रूम** उक्तवन्तो वयम्'' (के.उ.स्वा.भा.४/७) इति ।

एवं कठोपनिषद्भाष्येऽपि ''तं दुर्दर्शं गूढमनुप्रविष्टम्'' इत्यादिना परब्रह्म प्रतिपाद्य ''सर्वे वेदा यत् पदमामनन्ति... एतद्ध्येवाऽक्षरं ब्रह्म एतद्ध्येवाऽक्षरं परम्'' इत्यादिभिस्तत्परब्रह्मभिन्नमक्षरब्रह्मोपस्थाप्य तदुभयभिन्नमात्मतत्त्वं च ''न जायते म्रियते वा'' इत्यादिना प्रतिपादितम् । एवं तत्रैव ''यः सेतुरीजानानामक्षरं ब्रह्म यत् परम् । अभयं तितीर्षतां पारं नाचिकेतं शकेमहि'' (क.३/२) इति मन्त्रेणाऽक्षरं ब्रह्म संसारतरणोपायतया सेतुरूपेण व्यपदिष्टमिति भाषितम् ।

प्रणवोऽपि ह्येतदक्षरब्रह्मपरब्रह्मेतिदिव्यतत्त्वद्वयमभिधत्ते इति '' एतद् वै सत्यकाम परं चाऽपरं च ब्रह्म यद् ॐकारः'' (प्र.५/२) इति प्रश्नोपनिषद्भाष्ये प्रतिपाद्यते । तत्र परं ब्रह्मेति परमात्मा अपरं ब्रह्मेति च तस्मात् परमात्मनोऽपरं भिन्नं न्यूनं चाऽक्षरं ब्रह्माभिधीयत इति भाषितम् ।

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मुण्डके च प्रागुक्तदिशा ''येनाऽक्षरं पुरुषं वेद'' (मु.१/२/१३) इति मन्त्रभाष्यावसरे तथा च ''दिव्यो ह्यमूर्तः पुरुषः'' (मु.२/१/२) इति पुरुषपदवाच्यपुरुषोत्तमनिरूपणप्रसङ्गे ''ह्यक्षरात् परतः परः'' (मु.२/१/२) इति श्रुत्यर्थनिरूपणाऽवसरे परभूतादक्षरादपि परभूतः पुरुषोत्तम इति प्रतिपादितम् । इत्थं हि तत्रत्यं भाष्यम् ''हि शब्दो निश्चयार्थः । परतः परशब्दात् पञ्चम्यास्तसिल् । जीवेश्वरमायाब्रह्मरूपमुक्तादिसर्वेभ्यः परभूतादित्यर्थः ।... अक्षरात् पूर्वं परविद्याऽधिगम्यतयोक्तादक्षराऽऽख्यादिव्यतत्त्वादपि हि अवश्यमेव परः परभूतः सः पुरुषः परमात्माऽस्ति ।'' (मु.उ.स्वा.भा.२/१/२) इति ।

माण्डूक्येऽपि ''अयमात्मा ब्रह्म'' (मा.१/२) इति वाक्यं प्रत्यगात्माऽक्षरब्रह्मैक्यतयैव प्रतिपाद्य ''संविशत्यात्मनाऽऽत्मानं य एवं वेद'' (मा.४/१) इत्यत्र लब्धाऽक्षरब्रह्मरूपस्य परमात्मप्राप्तिः प्रतिपादिता । तदुक्तं तद्भाष्ये ''साक्षाद्ब्रह्मस्वरूपगुरुप्रसङ्गोपदेशकृपया स्वयमपि त्रिगुणदेहत्यवस्थाऽतीतो ब्रह्मरूपश्च भूत्वा परमात्मसहजानन्दसाक्षात्कारं लभत इति भावः'' (मा.उ.स्वा.भा.४/१) इति ।

एवं तैत्तिरीये च ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम् (तै.२/१/१) इत्यानन्दवल्लीमन्त्रेणाऽप्येतत्तत्त्वद्वयं प्रतिपाद्य ब्रह्मरूप आत्मैव परब्रह्माऽऽप्तौ तदुपासने चाऽधिकारी भवतीति नियमः प्रस्थापितः ।

ऐतरेयोपनिषद्यपि ''कोऽयमात्मेति वयमुपास्महे'' (ऐ.३/१) इत्यत्र परब्रह्मण उपास्यत्वं प्रतिपाद्य ''प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म'' (ऐ.३/३) इत्यादिवाक्यानां ज्ञानस्वरूपमक्षरब्रह्मपरत्वं प्रदर्श्य परब्रह्मोपासनेऽक्षरब्रह्मभावाऽनिवार्यता भाष्य उपस्थापिता । एवमब्रुवन् भाष्यकाराः ''परमात्मा सहजानन्द एव परमोपास्य इति तु सर्ववेदान्तसिद्धान्तः किन्तु नहि यथावत्तदुपासनमृते जीवात्मनोऽक्षरब्रह्मभावाच्छक्यमित्यपि स्फुटो वेदान्तोपदेशः । अथाऽतस्तदुपासनाऽधिकारसिद्ध्यर्थमुपासकात्मनि साक्षादक्षरब्रह्मैक्यसम्पादनौपयिकतया सर्वस्याऽक्षरब्रह्मात्मकत्वं प्रतिपादयति'' (ऐ.उ.स्वा.भा.३/२) इति ।

छान्दोग्येऽप्यष्टमाऽध्याये ''अथ यदिदमस्मिन् ब्रह्मपुरे दहरं पुण्डरीकं वेश्म दहरोऽस्मिन्नन्तराकाशस्तस्मिन् यदन्तस्तदन्वेष्टव्यं तद् वाव विजिज्ञासितव्यम्'' (छा.८/१/१) इत्याद्युपक्रान्तदहरविद्याया भाष्ये दहराऽऽकाशशब्देन ह्यक्षरं ब्रह्म प्रतिपाद्य तदन्तःस्थतया परं ब्रह्म च प्रदर्श्य तदुभयमन्वेष्टव्यं विजिज्ञासितव्यमिति प्रस्थापितम् । इत्थं हि भाष्यवचनम् ''अनेनाऽक्षरब्रह्मपरब्रह्मोभयविषयिणी जिज्ञासा विधीयते'' (छा.उ.स्वा.भा.८/१/१) इति ।

एवं बृहदारण्यकेऽपि तृतीयाऽध्याये सप्तमेऽन्तर्यामिब्राह्मणे परब्रह्मणः सर्वाऽन्तर्यामित्वतन्नियामकत्वादि निरूप्याऽष्टमे ब्राह्मणे परब्रह्मनित्येच्छया ह्यक्षरब्रह्मणोऽपि तदस्तीति तद्भाष्ये ''एतद् वै तदक्षरं गार्गि ब्रह्मणा अभिवदन्ति'' (बृ.३/८/८) इत्यादादिभिरारभ्य ''एतस्य वा अक्षरस्य प्रशासने गार्गि सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ विधृतौ तिष्ठतः'' (बृ.३/८/१) इत्यादिभिस्तन्माहात्म्यं प्रदर्श्य ''यो वा एतदक्षरं गार्ग्यविदित्वाऽस्माल्लोकात् प्रैति स कृपणोऽथ य एतदक्षरं गार्गि विदित्वाऽस्माल्लोकात् प्रैति स ब्राह्मणः'' इत्यादिभिश्च तद्वेदनाऽऽवश्यकतां चोपस्थाप्य ''एतस्मिन्नु खल्वक्षरे गार्ग्याकाश ओतश्च प्रोतश्च'' (बृ.३/८/११) इत्यन्तेन सविस्तरं प्रतिपादितम् ।

एवं सर्वास्वपि दशसूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मद्वयसिद्धान्तः सहजं स्फुटं शास्त्रीयपद्धत्यैव च प्रस्थाप्यते इति नूनं विद्वज्जनसमादरावहम् ।

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श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतास्वामिनारायणभाष्ये अक्षरपुरुषोत्तमसिद्धान्तः

श्रीस्वामिनारायणानां सिद्धान्तोऽयं गीताशास्त्रमनुसृत्य ''अक्षरपुरुषोत्तमसिद्धान्तः'' इति यदुच्यते तदन्वर्थमेव । यतो ह्युपनिषदुक्तब्रह्मद्वयसिद्धान्त एव पुनर्भगवद्गीतावाक्यैः प्रमाणीकृत्य श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतास्वामिनारायणभाष्ये दृढायितः यथा ''किं तद् ब्रह्म'' (गी.८/१) इति पार्थजिज्ञासायाम् ''अक्षरं ब्रह्म परमम्'' (गी.८/३) इति पार्थसारथेः प्रतिवचनम् । तदिदमक्षरं ब्रह्म न परब्रह्म न वा जीवात्मेत्यादि तद्भाष्यप्रतिपादितम् । एवं हि तत्रत्यवचनम् ''**परमं** परमात्मातिरिक्तसर्वजीवेश्वरमायातन्मुक्तेभ्यः सर्वदा स्वरूपस्वभावशक्तिसामर्थ्यादिना परभूतम् **अक्षरम्** एव **ब्रह्म** ब्रह्मतत्त्वमुच्यत इत्यर्थः ।'' (गी.स्वा.भा.८/३) इति । ततश्च तत्राऽक्षरं ब्रह्मेतिशब्दयोर्व्युत्पत्तिं व्याकरणशास्त्रसम्मतां प्रदर्श्य सविस्तरं नैकविधश्रुतिस्मृतिवाक्यैः सुयुक्तिभिश्च परमात्मजीवादीनामक्षरब्रह्मशब्दवाच्यत्वं नेति साधूपपादितम् । अक्षरशब्दोऽयं नैव पुरुषोत्तमपर इति प्रस्थापयितुं पञ्चदशाऽध्यायस्य पुरुषोत्तमयोगाऽभिधस्य श्लोकत्रयमुपस्थाप्यते । तदुक्तं गीतासु ''द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाऽक्षर एव च । क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते ॥ उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः । य लोकत्रमाविश्य बिभर्त्यव्यय ईश्वरः ॥ यस्मात् क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः । अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः ॥'' (गी.१५/१६-१८) इति । इह जीवेश्वरसमूहानीदानीं पूर्वं वा यदा कदाऽपि क्षरणस्वभावाऽचित्संसर्गप्राप्तत्वात् क्षरशब्दाऽभिलप्यानि, नित्यं प्रकृतिसंसर्गवियुक्तं प्रागुक्तजीवेश्वरसमूहपरभूतमक्षरं ब्रह्म कूटः शीलाराशिः पर्वतः इव तिष्ठतीति नित्यं विकाररहिततयाऽवस्थितं कूटस्थशब्दाऽभिलप्यं चेत्युपपाद्य क्षराऽक्षरोभ्यभिजस्तत्परभूतश्च परमात्मैव पुरुषोत्तमशब्दाऽभिलप्य इति भाष्ये भगवद्गीताशब्दाऽनुगुण्येन प्रस्थापितम् ।

ब्रह्मसूत्राणि

ब्रह्मसूत्रैरपि भाष्यकारा अक्षरपुरुषोत्तमसिद्धान्तप्रतिपादने साफल्यं लब्धवन्तः । ''अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा'' (ब्र.सू.१/१/१) इति प्रथमसूत्रे एव विविधैः श्रुतिस्मृतिवचनैः सूत्रस्थं ब्रह्मपदमक्षरब्रह्मपरब्रह्मेतितत्त्वद्वयाभिधायकमिति प्रसाधितम् । तत्राऽपि ब्रह्मणोर्जिज्ञासा ब्रह्मजिज्ञासेति द्विवचनाऽन्तेन विग्रहेणैव ब्रह्मद्वयसिद्धान्तं भाष्यकाराः सूत्रकाराऽभिमततया प्रस्थापितवन्तः । तदुक्तं ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्ये ''ब्रह्मशब्देनेह सकलवेदान्तोदितब्रह्मविद्यातत्त्वनिरूपणनिपुणेन भगवता व्यासेनाऽक्षरब्रह्मपरब्रह्मेतिदिव्योभयतत्त्वयोर्जिज्ञास्यमानत्वेन विवक्षितत्वात्, तथैव श्रुत्यवबोधितत्वाच्च ब्रह्मणोरिति द्विवचनान्तो विग्रहः । पदार्थभेदेऽपि पदसारूप्याच्चैकशेषः शाब्दिकसमयसिद्धो यथा पार्थपार्थसारथ्युभयविवक्षया कृष्णाविति भारते (म.भा.आ.प.२२१/३३) दाशरथिवासुदेवाऽग्रजोभयविवक्षया वदन्ति लोके रामयोरिति तथेहाऽपि । ब्रह्म च ब्रह्म चेति ब्रह्मणी तयोरिति लौकिको विग्रहः । तत्राऽऽद्यं शक्त्याऽक्षरतत्त्वं द्वितीयं च पुरुषोत्तमतत्त्वं ब्रवीतीति भवति तदुभयलाभः ।'' (ब्र.सू.स्वा.भा.१/१/१) इत्यादि ।

एवमुत्तरत्राऽपि ब्रह्मसूत्रे भाष्यकाराः जगत्कारणताविचारे तत्तदधिकरणेषु ब्रह्मद्वयसिद्धान्तं प्रसाधितवन्तः । तत्राऽपि विशिष्य अदृश्यत्वाऽधिकरणं द्युभ्वाद्यधिकरणम् । अक्षराऽधिकरणं दहराऽधिकरणं चेत्याद्यधिकरणानि तत्तदधिकरणविषयभूतश्रुतिवाक्यैरक्षरब्रह्मपरतया प्रौढतया प्रतिपादितानि ।

इत्थं बहुषु विशिष्टेषु सिद्धान्तेषु सत्स्वपि तेभ्यः प्रमुखा अत्रोल्लिखिताः ।

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एवं शङ्कररामानुजवल्लभादिप्राक्तनाऽऽचार्यप्रवरप्रतिपादितेभ्योऽद्वैतविशिष्टाद्वैतशुद्धाऽद्वैतादिदर्शनेभ्यो विलक्षणत्वाद् भगवत्स्वामिनारायणप्रबोधितस्य दर्शनस्याऽस्य ''अक्षरपुरुषोत्तमदर्शनम्'' इत्यन्वर्थैव संज्ञेत्यहं मन्ये । श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतानुसारेण चाऽयं सिद्धान्तः ''अक्षरपुरुषोत्तमसिद्धान्तः'' इति वक्तव्ये सत्यतैव सम्पुष्टा भवति । अत एव ''अक्षरपुरुषोत्तम-सिद्धान्तलक्षणब्रह्मविद्यानिरूपक..'' (ई.स्वा.भा.१८, ब्र.सू.स्वा.भा.१/४/२९) इत्येवं रूपेणाऽयं सिद्धान्तो यद्ब्रह्मविद्याऽपरपर्यायतयोपयुज्यते सर्वत्र प्रस्थानत्रय्यां प्रकरणाद्यन्ते तदपि वेदान्तशास्त्राऽनुकूलं विदुषां स्वामिनारायणीयमतसङ्ग्राहकमेव वरीवर्ति ।

भाष्यवैशिष्ट्यम्

अथ भाष्यशैल्यादिविषये मम भावानुद्घाटयितुंकामोऽहम् ।

अपूर्वता भाष्यस्याऽस्य विदुषां ध्यानाकर्षको गुणः । यथोपनिषत्सु कठे ''ऋतं पिबन्तौ सुकृतस्य लोके'' (कठ.३/१) इत्यत्रर्तपानकर्तृतया प्रत्यगात्माऽक्षरब्रह्मणी प्रतिपादिते । एवं मुण्डके ''द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते'' (मु.३/१/१) इतिमन्त्रे बद्धात्माऽक्षरब्रह्मणोर्ग्रहणमित्याद्यपूर्वम् ।

गीताभाष्येऽपि द्वितीयाऽध्यायप्रथमश्लोके शरीरत्रयवर्णनमश्रुतपूर्वं समर्थितम् । ''बुद्धिर्योगे त्विमां शृणु'' (गी.२/३९) इत्यत्र योगशब्दस्य परमात्मस्वरूपनिष्ठापरत्वम्, ''एषा ब्राह्मी स्थितिः'' (गी.२/७२) इत्यस्य ब्रह्मगुणसाधर्म्याऽऽप्तिपरत्वम्, ''यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य'' (गी.४/७) इत्यादौ धर्मपदस्य भागवतधर्मपरत्वम्, अष्ट च दश चेति गीताऽध्यायविवेकः (गी.स्वा.भा.८/२८), द्वादशे ''क्लेशो ह्यधिकतरस्तेषामव्यक्तासक्तचेतसाम्'' (गी.१२/५) इत्यत्र अव्यक्तेऽक्षरे ब्रह्मण्यसक्तं चेतो येषां तेऽव्यक्तचेतसस्तेषामिति विग्रहकरणमित्याद्यपूर्वम् ।

ब्रह्मसूत्रेष्वपि प्रथमसूत्रे एव ब्रह्मणोर्जिज्ञासेति द्विवचनान्तो विग्रहः । ईक्षत्यधिकरणे तदैक्षत बहु स्यां प्रजायेय इति श्रुतावीक्षतेः श्रवणात् तेन हेतुना परमात्मसाकृतिकत्वसाधनम् । तदुक्तं भाष्ये ''श्रूयमाणमीक्षणं हि चेतनधर्मो जडस्य प्रधानस्य जगत्कारणत्वबोधकवाक्ये सच्छब्दवाच्यतां वारयति । न केवलं वारयत्यपि तु सच्छब्दवाच्यस्य जगत्कारणस्य दिव्यनेत्रादिकरणकलेवरात्मकं साकृतिकत्वं प्रस्थापयत्यपि'' (ब्र.सू.स्वा.भा.१/१/५) इति । एवमेव अन्तस्तद्धर्माधिकरणेऽपि ''य एषोऽन्तरादित्ये हिरण्मयः पुरुषो दृश्यते हिरण्यश्मश्रुर्हिरण्यकेश आप्रणखात् सर्व एव सुवर्णः ॥ तस्य यथा कप्यासं पुण्डरीकमेवमक्षिणी'' (छा.१/६/६, ७) इति विषयवाक्यविमर्शाऽवसरे '' इत्थमिह परमात्मैव साकृतिकत्वेन निरूपितः'' (ब्र.सू.स्वा.भा.१/१/२१) इति भाषितम् । अपि च उत्पत्त्यसम्भवाधिकरणेऽपि ''उत्पत्त्यसम्भवाद्, न च कर्तुः करणम्, विज्ञानादिभावे वा तदप्रतिषेधः, विप्रतिषेधाच्च'' (ब्र.सू.२/२/४२-४५) इति चतुःसूत्री पञ्चरात्राऽऽगमविषयकतया न निरूपिताऽपि तु चार्वाकाऽभिमतस्वभावकारणवादखण्डनपरतयेत्यपूर्वे-यमर्थयोजना वेदान्तविचक्षणानां साश्चर्यमहोभावमुद्भावयति । एवं प्रत्यध्यायं प्रतिपादं च ब्रह्मसूत्रेषु शङ्कररामानुजा-दिप्राक्तनाऽऽचार्यप्रतिपादिताऽऽर्थेभ्यो भिन्नतया सूत्रशब्दार्थाः सप्रमाणं सयुक्तिकं च प्रदर्शिता इति स्फुटमवलोकयितुं शक्यम् ।

इत्थमौचित्यपूर्णाऽपूर्वतया वैशिष्ट्यमावहतीदं भाष्यम् ।

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भाष्यं चेदं सम्पूर्णं शास्त्रीयां पद्धतिमनुसरति । यथा ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्याऽवसरे विषयो विषयश्चैव पूर्वपक्षस्तथोत्तर-मित्याद्यधिकरणनियमः सर्वत्राऽनुसृतः । आवश्यकतामभिलक्ष्योपनिषदादिषु प्रकरणार्थोपबृंहकतया शास्त्रान्तरप्रमाणा-न्युद्धृतानि । यथा ''सर्वे वेदा यत्पदमामनन्ति'' (कठ.२/१५) इति कठमन्त्रभाष्याऽवसरे सकलवेदगतोपनिषत्सन्दर्भाः सन्दर्शिताः । सर्ववेदान्तप्रत्ययं चोदनाद्यविशेषात् (ब्र.सू.३/३/१) इति सूत्रभाष्ये च भूरि वेदान्तवाक्यान्युप-स्थापितानि । ब्रह्मसूत्रद्वितीयाऽध्यायद्वितीयपादस्थसूत्रभाष्ये भाष्यकाराणां चार्वाकबौद्धजैनसाङ्ख्यचयोगन्यायवैशेषिकादि-विविधदर्शनदक्षत्वं विद्यावतां विस्मयजनकम् । वाक्यप्रणयनशैल्यपि शङ्करादिप्राचीनाऽऽचार्याणामिव व्याकरणपरिशुद्धा सत्तर्कविभूषिता प्रासादिकी अर्थगभीरा श्रवणमधुरा द्वेषशून्यविमर्शपरा च । केवलं परमात्मकृपया गुर्वनुग्रहेणैवेदं सर्वमेकत्र सम्मिलितं भवतीति नूनमाचार्यभद्रेशदासाः तां कृपामनुग्रहं च लब्धवन्त इति सौभाग्यशालिन एव । अहं तेषां गुरुवर्येभ्यः श्रीप्रमुखस्वामिमहाराजेभ्योऽपि धन्यवादान् निवेदयामि सादरं प्रणमामि च यत्तैरेते भद्रेशदासा भाष्यप्रणयनकार्ये प्रेरिताः । एतादृशान् जीवतो युवाऽवस्थाऽवस्थितान् भाष्यकारान् दृष्ट्वाऽत्यन्तं प्रमोदप्लावितं मे चेतः । नूनं भारतवर्षस्य सांस्कृतिकं भावि गौरवाऽऽढ्यमिति निश्चप्रचमिति शम् ।

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REVIEW

***'Sujñāḥ Utāho Ajñāḥ'* (Sanskrit translation),** original in English by Sudha Murty, Sanskrit translation by number of translators. Chief editor- Dr. Devi Prasad Kharwandikar and co-editors- Dr. Asha Gurjar and Dr. Ranjana, pub. by Gayatri Sahitya, 26/12, Pratiknagar, Yerwada, Pune 411 006, First Edition, 2010, ISBN 978-81-910324-06, pp.1-204, Price: Rs.200/- (paper-back).

The book *'Sujñaḥ Utāho Ajñāḥ'-Jīvanāya Namaḥa* is a Sanskrit translation of the Enlgish work *'Wise and Otherwise- A Salute to Life'* written by a well-known author Sudha Murty. This book is translated in all major Indian languages which is indicative of its popularity. How can one forget Sanskrit language-mother of most Indian languages? A stride to translate in Sanskrit is taken by Dr. Devi Prasad Kharwandikar- a renowned Sanskrit scholar and the chief editor of a popular quarterly Sanskrit periodical *'Guñjārava'*- Ahmednagar, Maharashtra; with the co-editors Dr. Asha Gurjar- also a Sanskrit scholar and the editor of a yearly Sanskrit publication *'Samarpaṇam'* - Pune, Maharashtra and Dr. Ranjana Date.

The author, Sudha Murty of the English work is a multi-dimensional personality, known for her contributions to various fields; she is a Computer Science Scholar, a teacher, a notable author and a prominent social worker.

The book '*Sujñāḥ Utāho Ajñaḥ*' is a collection of fifty-one short stories translated in simple Sanskrit language. The stories are short to the extent of two to four pages and are independent of each other. Various topics from social, political and academics are chosen; they reflect the true picture of rural and urban life of Indians. They are drawn from author's real life experiences good and bad, pleasant and unpleasant gathered from the conversation with the

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various strata of people. They speak about the importance of essential human values like ethics, truthfulness, honesty, humility, simplicity etc. in one's life. The stories, narrate different situations, in which an illiterate person behaves wisely and a literate, though highly educated and culture in which he is grown up acts otherwise justifies its title *'Wise and Otherwise: A Salute to Life'* and its Sanskrit translation *'Sujñāḥ Utāho Ajñāḥ' - Jīvanāya Namaḥ.*

The burning social issue of torturing females in want of dowry or a male child has taken many lives in India. Such women suffer painful burns quietly without revolting against the society in which they live. The story '*Kim Satyamabhavat* 'Stove' *Prakṣobhaḥ?*' narrates the agony of such oppressed females. Sudha Murty on a visit to the burns ward in a hospital, is shaken to see the pathetic condition of females mostly from poor class admitted in it. She is further shocked when all of them cite one single reason for the accident i.e. the explosion of the cooking stove.

Some stories are very sad and leave deep impression on the reader's mind about the dark sides of teenaged girls. The story '*Dīpena Dīpaḥ Prajvālitavyaḥ*', is a story of a beautiful teenaged girl who had recently become a *Devadāsī*- the tradition of serving gods in the temple of South India, while covertly practicing prostitution. An old aunt of the girl, retired from the profession inducts the girl. In it, the author perfectly describes the beauty of the teen-aged girl thus, ''अति दीर्घः तस्य कचसंभारः, सुन्दरं मुखम्, भावपूर्णे नेत्रे, उत्तमा कान्तिः । तस्याः मुखे स्थितैः अव्याजमनोहरै भावैः तस्याः सौन्दर्यम्.....तस्याः मस्तके बहुमल्लिकापुष्पैः गुम्फिता माला आसीत् ।''On the other side, she describes so called aunt of the girl who brought her into this profession thus, ''तस्याः शरीरं उग्रगन्धं, तमाखुसेवनकारणात् तस्याः दन्ताः कृष्णवर्णैः कलङ्कैः कलङ्किताः । तस्याः मुखस्य उपरि कठोराः लोभयुक्ताः भावाः च आसन् । सा चीनांशुकशाटिकया आवृता..... .....तथापि तस्याः दर्शनं सौन्दर्यपूर्णं भवितुम् अशक्यमेव !''(pp.111-112). This unpleasant situation and the vision of future of the young girl brings tears to the author's eyes.

'Kumārī-Mātā' story is about a girl who conceives in her school days. The Indian society does not accept such situations and victimized girls end their life. In the same story, the author narrates a similar incident that happened in a different country, where such girls live a normal human life without

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any humiliation. Giving two similar situations having different outcomes in a single story, the author leaves the readers to deliberate upon such issues. What could be more unfortunate for girl who is sold by her brother on the day of *Rakṣābandhana* ? The story '*Truṭitam Bandhanam Rakṣābandhanadine Eva*' is of such a girl.

Not only the social issues are sketched, but patriotic issues are also taken up. For instance, on the National holidays an Indian citizen purposely skips the fundamental duty of flag hoisting ceremony or ignores cultural programs specially organized for the event. He prefers to enjoy the day vacationing or engaging him in other activities. This experience of the author, attending a flag hoisting ceremony in a rural school is not different from the urban. The nation, even after sixty years of its independence has failed to provide the basic need of clothing to some people is revealed in the story '*Dharaṇīmātuḥ Dīnāḥ Bālakāḥ*'. During the social program organized for leprosy patients, the author is shocked to see an old lady without a single garment, suffering from loeprosy in a remote rural area.

The modern issues like conflict for money and career between a working couple is well narrated in the story *'Mama Dhanam Tava Dhanam'*. *'Kṣantavyam.....Vyāpruto Asti Dūradhvaniḥ'* narrates the problems of children from wealthy family. There are many several other topics covered by the author in the book make a worthy reading and provoke the readers' imagination.

The philosophy of the life is told in very simple narrative manner. The story *'Śīlam Hṛdayaprabhavam'* is concluded thus, ''सत्यम्, अनुभवः शिक्षकोत्तमः । सारल्यं सत्यप्रियता च न कस्यापि वर्गस्य विशेषाधिकारः । तस्याः न अध्ययनेन सम्बन्धः न वा धनिकत्वेन । कस्मिन्नपि विद्यापीठे तदर्थम् अभ्यासक्रमः नास्ति ।'' (p.4). How true is this for everyone?

The author has shared valuable experiences and conversations with people from diverse situations with the readers in simple language. They are realistic and present various shades of human nature. The narratives are free from monotonous writing. The author's minute observation skill is admirable. The description of persons and natural surroundings bring up a realistic picture

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in readers' mind. For instance, the forest of Sahyadri is described thus, ''अरण्यस्थानां वृक्षतरूणां पुष्पाणां मन्दः सुवासः, विविधपक्षिणां कूजनं, मरुतः मन्दं वहनं.....कस्मिन्नपि ग्रामे खेटके एष आनन्दानुभवः अशक्यः ।'' (p.10) whereas the description of a young boy and a girl is, ''ताभ्यां महार्घाणि जीन्सवसनानि परिहितानि । उभयोः केशपाशः तथा विरलतया कृशो यथा उभावपि सरूपौ एवास्ताम् । केवलं तरुण्याः कर्णौ विद्धौ इत्येव विशेषः । तौ 'एमपीथ्री प्लेअरतः' संगीतं श्रुत्वा 'च्युईगम्' लिहन्तौ आत्मरामौ अभवताम् ।'' (p.58). This kind of appropriate descriptions have made the stories very delightful.

While narrating the incidents, Sudha Murty employs colloquial proverbs at many places. The Sanskrit translation of such maxims give an original touch to the translated work as it revives the original style of Sanskrit literature. For instance, ''हास्यं स्वास्थाय ननु श्रेयम् । (p.65) यशसः सन्ति शतशः दायादाः सहभागिनः ! परं अयशः निस्वामिकं भवति । (p.133) जीवनं मरणात् ज्यायः । (p.98) जलबिन्दु निपातेन क्रमशः पूर्यते सरः । (p.179) etc. Even, the well-known Sanskrit citation from *Manu Smṛti* 'यत्र नार्यस्तु पूजयन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः ।' (p.66) becomes integral part of the book.

The modern methods of translation are employed while using the proper nouns, for instance, 'झाशीराज्ञीमहोदया' (p.98), 'लक्ष्मीबाईमहोदया' (p.58), At some places the English words like executive (p.58), icecream (p.117), chewing gum (p.60), software (p.119), T-shrit (p.119) are not translated. However several English words are replaced with Sanskrit words e.g. Pressure cooker पाचकपात्रध्वनिः (p.2), Metal Ditactor धातुशोधकः (p.58), Album- छायाचित्रपुस्तकः (p.144).

Reading the book *'Sujñāḥ Utāho Ajñāḥ'* that has come down from the hands of a well-known contemporary author is a refreshing experience.

Mumbai **Vandana Lele**

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The Om Mala, Meanings of the Mystic Sound by Nityananda Mishra, Story Mirror Infotech Pvt. Limited, H33/1, DLF Phase 1, Gurgaon 122002, Haryana, India, July 2017, Price Rs. 250/-.

Nityananda Mishra, a distinguished scholar of rare combination, has given to the world of scholars an important gift in the form of the book on the mystic sound OM, the shortest Sanskrit word. At the first glance I started loving the book for its literary qualities and exterior texture. The learned author has worked hard in analysing and interpreting the concept from various perspectives. Though we are very well acquainted with the concept nevertheless the significance of this mystic word is clearly understood only after carefully reading the book of Mr. Misra who has taken the trouble to read, understand and digest the multiple purports and profound philosophy of Om. What made me delighted is the fact that the clarity of thought presented in lucid language but in modern mode. I am confident in saying that any enthusiastic reader will not be frustrated and will get something of value out of the comprehensive and critical understanding of the concept undertaken for study. As we know this concept is explained by the great thinkers belonging to the tradition of Yoga, Jaina, Vaishnava, Shaiva, Shakti, Tantra, Bauddha, Shikha and others, still there was a desideratum of such a handy, compact and elegant book which explains 84 names of Om in 109 sections. After every section the author has given quotations from Upanisads, Purāṇas, Smṛtis, Tantra texts, Vedas, Kośas, Classical Texts etc. It is a book and a *mālā*. The Preface has also brought to light some interesting facts and it is well prepared.

I strongly appreciate and recommend to the interested scholars and practitioners for reading this valuable book with an expectation that Mr. Misra will give us such good study material from time to time in future.

I sincerely congratulate the author for this pious work.

Vadodara **Rabindra Kumar Panda**

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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE'S ACTIVITIES (2016 - 2017)

Digitization Work: The second phase of National Manuscript Mission's Digitization Project started on 10th Jan 2017. In the second phase, the remaining paper manuscripts of first phase and all Palm Leaf manuscripts (3469) are being digitized.

This year we provided digitized copies of 72 Manuscripts to 30 scholars. Some of them personally came to collect them and to others, we sent them online on their request. Not only manuscripts but demand for printed books' copies from Oriental's Library is equally made by scholars. They include students, scholars or just readers who visit the Library in person, request for the digitized copy of a book, many people from all over India and abroad have asked for the copies of the books (GOS or our Gujarati publications) or old articles from Journal of Oriental Institute (our research Journal).

Printed Section: Printed Section or the Library of the Institute is equally famous for its rich collection of books and Journals on Indology. The Library has a collection of 53,451 Books and bound Periodicals of 100. Journals which are received in exchange of Institute's Journal of Oriental Institute. Under UGC - XII Plan, a grant of Rs.5,00,000/ - (to be utilized before 31st March 2017) has been received for Purchase of books. This year 235 books were purchased with value of Rs. 1,53,582.00 .

Publications: This year Vol. 65 of **Journal of Oriental Institute** (JOI) and 52nd Vol. of **Svadhyaya** were printed and circulated. Preparations of 66th Vol (collecting articles, sending them to experts etc.) were carried on and its Press-copy is sent to Press for printing. The fifth volume of Manuscript's Catalogue is also under print. First proof of the Volume has been checked. With the publication of this Catalogue, all the manuscripts of the Institute (30,299) will be known to the scholars of the world.

Mahabharatna gudha rahasyo - a Gujarati translation by Smt.Vijaya Lele of the Marathi book *'Mahabharatatil gudha rahasye'* by G.V. Kavishwar (as Sayaji Sahityamala Series Publication), is released to the readers. In the Critical Edition Wing, the preparation of Critical Text and Critical Apparatus of *Vayupurana* is in progress. The third Vol. of *Markandeya Purana* is in final stage of printing.

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Seminars & Symposium: This year, the Institute organized three seminars, one symposium, two lectures and participated in one book-fair.

The First Seminar on **'Revisiting the Creative Principles of Timeless Classics'** was organized with Arvachina Sanskrit Sahitya Parisad, Vadodara at Oriental Institute on 24.12.16. Dr. Gautam Patel was the Chief Guest and Prof Rajesh Pandya and Shri Yogesh Ojha were invited speakers. Nearly twenty papers were presented by the participants on timeless classics of English and different Indian languages.

Second seminar was a two day UGC sponsored National Seminar on **'Manuscript Studies in India : Problems & Perspectives'** on 17th & 18th January 2017. Prof Radhavallabh Tripathi, Former Vice-Chancellor of Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Delhi, delivered the key-note address. Prof. Radhamadhav Dash, Vice-Chancellor of Jagannath Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Puri, was the Chief Guest and Dr. Manibhai I. Prajapati from Patan was the Guest of Honour. The other 30 speakers presented papers on different topics related with manuscript studies.

Third seminar was on the **'Contribution of M. R. Kavi to Manuscript Studies'** organized with Arvachina Sanskrit Sahitya Parisad, on 26th March 2017 at Oriental Institute. M. Ramakrishna Kavi had edited the first two Volumes of Natyasastra under GOS of Oriental Institute. Prof Niranjan Patel from Sardar Patel University, Vallabh Vidyanagar, presided the seminar as chief guest and the grand-son of Ramakrishna Kavi attended the seminar as well.

On 7th March 2017, a Symposium on **'Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III and Vatapadraka'** was organized at Oriental Institute, where seven invited guests delivered lectures on different facets of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III.

Book-fair : The academic year of 2016 -17 started with the participation in a Book-fair 'Vadodara National Book Fair' organized by National Book Trust of India, Delhi, held at Navlakhi Ground, Vadodara from 27th May to 31st May 2017 where Oriental Institute put up a stall in M.S.University dome.

Lectures : This year, the Institute organized Two Important **Lecture-session.** The first one was organized with the collaboration of Balwant Parekh Centre, Vadodara where Dr. Deven Patel from University of Pennsylvania, USA, delivered a lecture on 'Horizons in Sanskrit Studies A Perspective from USA' on 2.1.17 at Oriental Institute.

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The second lecture session was our regular annual **Late Dr.U.P. Shah Memorial Lecture Series** (16th event) which was held on 28.2.17 at Oriental Institute. This year Dr. Manjari Bhalerao from Tilak Vidyapitha, Pune, delivered two lectures on - 1. 'Cave 1. Architecture of Maharashtra' & 2. 'Temple Architecture of Maharashtra'.

Other than these two lectures, one Extra Mural Lecture cum Demonstration was organized on Yoga by Dr. Sunita Shah, Director- Trinetri Yoga Centre, Vadodara on 23rd Feb, 2017 at Oriental Institute. All the members of the Institute and some invited guests participated in two hours long lec-dem session.

Two Condolence-meetings were arranged to pay respect to the departed former members of Oriental Institute. On 11th August, prayer meeting was arranged for Prof. Rajendra I Nanavati, Former Director of the Institute who passed away on 9th August 2016. Second Prayer meeting was arranged on 2nd March 2017 in memory of Prof B.N. Bhatt, Former Deputy Director of the Institute who passed away on 27th Feb 2017.

Visitors at Oriental Institute: Oriental Institute is known to Sanskrit scholars all over the world for its manuscript-collection. The scholars from far and near visit the Institute in search of Manuscripts' copies. Often people other than scholars, monks from different sects, students of schools and colleges also visit the Institute to have a look at our glorious past.

The most Important visit of NAAC team of UGC, was held on 30.11.16 for which the Institute along with the university, was getting prepared from last one year. Even a mock-drill was also arranged on 20.10.16. The main team, consisting of four members, stayed at the Institute for two hours.

This year 54 visiting entries registered in the Institute. Dr. Ashutosh Bhatnagar, Director æ Kashmir Study Centre, Delhi, visited the Institute with four persons on 6.4.16; four persons from Qatar (UAE) visited with Dr. Sheetal Shinkade (faculty at Pol.Science Dept, MSU) on 14.7.16; 81 students from Brightland Public School, Jambusar visited Institute with their five teacher; 120 students from Navrachna Inter-national School, Vadodara visited Institute on 10.8.16 with their five teachers; 30 students from My Shannon School, Vadodara came on 19.11.16 with two teachers; 40 students from Baroda High School, Opp. Polo ground Vadodara, Visited on 19.11.19 with two teachers; A group of 4 people from Arya Samaj sect of Vadodara, visited on 26.12.16; A group of 20 people from National Achieves of India, Delhi visited us on 30.1.17 ; A

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group of 13 French tourists (guided by Ms Chitrangada of Vadodara) visited the Institute on 17.2.17. Other than these groups, some note-worthy guests were-

Distinguished Visitors at Institute

S.N.	Date of visit	Name, Address of the visiting person/s	Designation	Purpose of the visit
1.	6.4.16	Prof. Chandra Prakash, 11A, Imperial Avenue, Delhi University, Delhi.	Professor at Delhi University	To see the Institute.
2.	6.4.16	Dr. Ashutosh Bhatnagar, Director Kashmir Study Centre, Delhi	Director	To see the Institute with four persons.
3.	2.4.16	Mrs. Rukmani Devi, Vijay Palace, Rajpipla	Royal family member of Rajpipla	To see the Institute
4.	20.5.16	Prof. Dilip C. Patel, Dept. of Sanskrit & Bhartiya Vidya, North Gujarat University, Patan (Guj)	Professor	To see the Institute
5.	15.6.16	Vacaspati Nandkumar, General Secretary, Sanskrit Bharati (Gujarat)	General Secretary, Sanskrit Bharati (Gujarat)	To see the Institute
6.	5.7.16	Venkatraman (with wife Neela), Abudhabi (UAE)	Software Engineer (Grand-son of K.S.Ramaswamy-editor of many GOS books)	To see the Institute where his grand-father worked from 1924-1961.
7.	7.7.16	Rajaram Ramaswamy Shastri (with wife Jayalakshmi),Bengaluru	Rtd employee of Indian Oil. (Second son of K.S. Ramaswami Shastri)	To see the Institute where his father worked for 21 years (Visited after 56 years).

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S.N.	Date of visit	Name, Address of the visiting person/s	Designation	Purpose of the visit
8.	14.7.16	A.D.K. Verma Vice-Chairman, Science India Forum, Qatar (UAE)	Vice-Chairman	To see the Institute.
9.	14.7.16	Sreedevi Anathkrishna Secretary, Science India Forum, Qatar (UAE)	Secretary	To see the Institute.(with 3 more people)
10.	14.7.16	Narayani S A, SY Engg., College of Engineering, Pune	Student	To see the Institute
11.	16.7.16	Viram Bojoriya, Brightland Public School, Jambusar	Teacher	Educational Tour (with 81 students +4 other teachers)
12.	1.8.18	V.K.Rathod, Virginia University (US)+ one more guest from Calgary, Alberta, Canada	Opthelmologist	To see the Ayurveda manuscripts.
13.	10.8.16	Librarian, Navrachna Inrernational School, Vadodara	Librarian	Educational Tour (with 120 students +5 other teachers)
14.	6-9.9.16 (stayed for 4 days)	Tyler Williams, University of Chicago (US)	Asst. Professor	To refer manuscripts for his project.
15.	22.9.16	Pasqual Manzo, Curator, The British Library, London (UK)	Curator	To visit Library and see the collection of manuscripts.
16.	6.10.16	Aleksandra Gordeeva, Ph.D candidate at Yale University	Research scholar	To see and get the copies of manuscripts

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S.N.	Date of visit	Name, Address of the visiting person/s	Designation	Purpose of the visit
17.	13.10.16	Mrs Vijaya Vasant Joshi, 1,Indumati Appartment,	Secretary, Rashtra Sevika Samittee, Vadodara Unit Khairav Road Baroda	To see the Institute
18.	19.11.16	Avani R. Dhindorkar, My Shanon School, Khodiyar Nagar, New VIP Road, Vadodara	Teacher	Educational Tour with 30 students +3 teachers
19.	19.11.16	Sanjay Bachhav,Baroda High School Sr., Opp Pologround, Vadodara	Teacher	Educational Tour with 40 students +2 teachers
20.	30.11.16	Prof. Vijay Kumar Dharorkar, Dept. of Mass Comunication & Journalism, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar University, Aurangabad (M)	Professor	To see the manuscripts.
21.	2.12.16	Prof Andrew Peacock, School of History, University of Saint Andrews F1	Professor	In search of manuscripts.
22.	26.12.16	Shri Yogendra Yagnik, Arsha Gurukul Mahavidyalaya, Hoshangabad (MP)	Administrator	To see the manuscripts. (accompanied by 2 more members of Arya Samaj group Vadodara.)
23.	31.12.17	Dr. Lalita Poluru, NID PG Campus, Gandhinagar	Dy. Librarian	To visit archives to understand manuscripts.

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S.N.	Date of visit	Name, Address of the visiting person/s	Designation	Purpose of the visit
24.	31.12.17	Mr. Sridhar Poluru, Freelance Artist, Ahmedabad	Artist	In search of manuscripts.
25.	13.1.17	Dr. Shubhangi Kamble, Dept. of Basic Principles,	Asst. Professor	To see the collection of OI and the ongoing Digitization Project
26.	19.1.17	Dr. Lavanya Kirtisingh 'Kabya',University Dept of Music & Dramatics, LNM University, Darbhanga	Former Head	To see the manuscript collection and Institute.
27.	23.1.17	Prof Meenal Anant Oak, Oak's Academy, Parashuram nagar, Mumbai-Goa Highway, At post Chiplum, Distt. Ratnagiri (Maharashtra)	Proprietor	To see the Institute.
28.	23.1.17	Charulata Madhukar Apte, 1331, Dr. apte's house, R.G, Gadkari Road, Panvel, Distt. Raigad (Maharashtra)	Teacher	To see the Institute.
29.	30.1.17	Ms Hansa Rawat, School of Archival Studies, National Archives of India, Janpath, New Delhi	Incharge of the team	On a visit with 20 students from Delhi accompanied by 3 people from Gandhinagar.
30.	17.2.17	Ms Chitrangada, Vadodara	Team leader	With 13 French tourists to see the Institute.

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S.N.	Date of visit	Name, Address of the visiting person/s	Designation	Purpose of the visit
31.	21.2.17	Dr. Tomoyuki Yamahata, Higher Education Support Centre, Hokkaide University of Science, N-7W1,1-18-1203, Sappro, Japan	Lecturer	To refer manuscripts & stayed for four days.
31.	27.2.17	Dr. Michael Joseph Nixon, University of Cape Town, Music Department, Rondeborch 7000, South Africa	Professor	To refer manuscripts & stayed for two days.
32.	18.3.17	Vaid Amit Uposani, Vaid Arun Vaidya, Vaid Rakesh Salve, Ayurved Dept, Parul Institute, Waghodiya Road, Vadodara	Teaching Faculty	To see the Institute and Ayurved manuscripts.
33.	20.3.17	Trupti Bhupen, Director-Vamarpah - School of Performing Arts, Bangalore (Karnataka)	Director	To see the Institute.
34.	20.3.17	Nandini Cholaraju, Founder Ollit, Bangalore	Mountaineer	To see the Institute.

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Dr. Sweta Prajapati

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

RADHAVALLABH TRIPATHI
21, Landmark City, Near Hoshangabad Road, Bhopal (M.P.)-462043, Ph. No: 0755-400
Email. : radhavallabh2002@gmail.com

S. JENA
L/395, Baramunda H.B. Colony, Bhubaneswar-751003 (Odisha) (M): 9937575960 (R): 0674-2355206

KARL E. H. SEIGFRIED
Divinity School, University of Chicago, USA, Email. : seigfried@uchicago.edu

MAGDALENA SZPINDLER
Adam Mickiewicz University, NAMO project, Room no. 123 Św. Marcin 78, 61-809 Poznań, Poland
Tel. no. +48 502 21 77 42; Email : m.szpindler@gmail.com

SHILPA SUMANT
Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Yerawada. Pune-411006
Email: shilpa.sumant@dcpune.ac.in; shilsumant@hotmail.com

SATYA VRAT VARMA
7/34, Purani Abadi, Near Namdev Flour Mill, Sri Ganganagar-335001 (Raj)

PAVANKUMAR SATULURI, K. V. RAMAKRISHANAMACHARYULU, AMBA KULKARNI
Department of Linguistics & Literary studies, Chinmay University, CEG campus, Veliyanad, Kochi
Email : pavankumarsatuluri@gmail.com(M) : 9493949376

METI MALLIKARJUN
Sahyadri Arts College, Kuvempu University, Shimoga. Email : meti.mallikarjun@gmail.com

K.G. SHESHADRI
RMV Clusters, Phase-2, Block-2, 5th floor, Flat No.503, Devinagar, Lottegollahalli,
Bangalore-560094. Ph.No:- +91-80-23415639 (Resi.) Email: kg_sheshadri@yahoo.com

DEVIPRASAD MISHRA
French Institute of Pondicherry, UMJFRE 21 CNRS-MAEE, 11 Saint Lone's Street, PB-33
Pondicherry-605001, Ph-0413-2231642, E-mail: deviprasad@ifindia.org

SADHU BHADRESADASA & SADHU BRAHMASETUDASA
BAPS Swaminarayan Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, BAPS Swaminarayan Mandir, Sarangpur, Ta: Barvala
Dist.: Botad, Gujarat, India-382451, (M): +91 9725205602/8

VARSHA SHIRGAONKAR
Department of History, S.N.D.T. Women's University, Mumbai - 20

SHARMILA BAGCHI
Oriental Institute, The M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara-390001, M : 9426947941
E-mail: bagchisharmila3@gmail.com

BENUDHAR PATRA
P.G. Department of History, Post Graduate Govt. College, Sector-11, Chandigarh (UT)-160011
Email: dr-benudharpatra@yahoo.co.in, M. 9569909144

NINA BHAVNAGARI
802, Forum Park Co-operative Housing Society, Nr. Ashok Nagar, Athwalines, Surat-395001
Mobile: 9825411175

महामहोपाध्यायः एन्. एस्. रामानुजताताचार्यः
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